NATIONAL OPEN UNIVERSITY OF NIGERIA

SCHOOL OF ARTS AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

COURSE CODE : INR 121

COURSE TITLE : The Structure of International System

COURSE GUIDE

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Introduction

Welcome to INR 212: The Structure of International System

This Course is a two Credit Unit course for undergraduate students of International Relations. The Structure of International System introduces the students to the structure of the contemporary international system. The course x-rays the pattern and changes that have been taken place in the system over the years. The course also teaches the students the basis of international relations in ensuring international peace and security in the present nuclear age. The course also exposes the students the basic rules and regulations guiding inter-state relations.

Course Aims

The aim of this course is to give the students of international relations a comprehensive knowledge of the historical development of the present international system. Thus the course will appraise and analyse the patterns of relationships among states and non-state actors in the international system. Consequently this has been prepared to:

(i)   expose the students to the relevant definitions and meanings of international relations

(ii)   trace the historical development of international relation as a course.

(iii)   analyse the reasons and consequences of the changes in the international system over the years.

(iv)   enlighten the students on the characteristics of state actors and non-state actors.

Course Objectives

To achieve the aims set out above, INR 121: Structure of International System has overall objectives. In addition, each unit also has specific objectives. The unit objectives are stated at the beginning of each unit. You should read the objectives before going through the unit. You may wish to refer to them during the study of the unit to assess your progress.

Here are the wider objectives for the course as a whole. By meeting the objectives, you should see yourself as having met the aims of the course. On successful completion of the course, you should be able to;

(a)   have a fundamental knowledge of the international system

(b)   give concise definitions of international relations,

(c)   understand the patterns of state relations

(d)   appreciate the historical development of the present international system

(e)   know the dimensions and scope of state interactions

(g)   understand the qualifications and duties of state actors

(e)   identify the pattern and changes in the international system

(f)   assess the instruments of inter-state relations,

(g)   analyse the importance of states   as major actors at the international arena

(h)   understand the contributions of some concepts in maintaining international peace and security.

Working through this Course

To complete the course, you are required to read the study units and other related materials. You will also need to undertake practical exercises for which you need a pen, a note-book, and other materials that will be listed in this guide. The exercises are to aid you in understanding the concepts being presented. At the end of each unit, you will be required to submit written assignment for assessment purposes. At the end of the course, you will write a final examination.

Course Materials

The major materials you will need for this course are:

(i)   Course guide.

(ii)   Study units.

(iii)   Assignments file.

(iv)   Relevant textbooks including the ones listed under each unit.

Study Units.

There are 4 modules made up of 16 units in this course. They are listed below:

Module 1: The Concept of Diplomacy in International Relations.

Unit 1: Definitions diplomacy.

Unit 2: Diplomacy and Foreign Policy.

Unit 3: Dimensions of diplomacy.

Unit 4: The Scope of Diplomacy.

Module 2: Historical Perceptions of Diplomacy

Unit 1: Diplomatic History

Unit 2: Appointments, Reception and Recall of Diplomats

Unit 3: Characteristics/Qualities of Diplomats

Unit 4: Functions of Diplomatic Missions

Module 3: Patterns of Diplomatic Relations.

Unit 1: Types of Diplomacy

Unit 2: Diplomatic nomenclatures.

Unit 3: Diplomatic Immunities and Privileges.

Unit 4: Breach of Diplomatic Relations.

Module 4: Diplomacy in a Changing World

Unit 1: Diplomacy at the United Nations.

Unit 2: Changing Nature of Diplomacy.

Unit 3: The use of Regional Organizations in Diplomacy.

Unit 4: The European Union and Developments in Diplomatic Method.

Textbooks and References

   Certain books have been recommended in this course. You may wish to purchase them for further reading.

Assessment File

            An assessment file and a marking scheme will be made available to you. In the assessment file, you will find details of the works you must submit to your tutor for marking. There are two aspects of the assessment for this course; the tutor marked and the written examination. The marks you obtain in these two areas will make up your final marks. The assignments must be submitted to your tutor for formal assessment in accordance with the deadline stated in the presentation schedule and the

assignment file. The work you submit to your tutor for assessment will count for 30% of your total score.

Tutor Marked Assignment (TMAs)

You will have to submit a specified number of the (TMAs). Every unit in this course has a tutor marked assignment. You will be assessed on four of them but the best three performances from the (TMAs) will be used for your 30% grading. When you have completed each assignment, send it together with a Tutor Marked Assignment form, to your tutor. Make sure each assignment reaches your tutor on or before the deadline for submissions. If for any reason, you cannot complete your work on time, contact your tutor for a discussion on the possibility of an extension. Extension will not be granted after the due date unless under exceptional circumstances.

Final Examination and Grading

The final examination will be a test of three hours. All areas of the course will be examined. Find time to read the unit all over before your examination. The final examination will attract 70% of the total course grade. The examination will consist of questions, which reflects the kinds of self assessment exercises and tutor marked assignment you have previously encountered. And all aspects of the course will be assessed. You should use the time between completing the last unit, and taking the examination to revise the entire course.

Course Marking Scheme

The following table lays out how the actual course mark allocation is broken down.

Assessment	Marks
Assignments Best Three Assignments out of four marked	=30%
Final Examination	=70%
Total	=100%

Presentation Schedule

The dates for submission of all assignments will be communicated to you. You will also be told the dates of completing the study units and dates for examinations.

Course Overview and Presentation Schedule

Unit	Title of Work	Week activity	Assignments
Module 1	Diplomacy as a concept		
Unit 1	Definitions of diplomacy	Week 1	Assignment 1
Unit 2	Diplomacy and Foreign Policy	Week 2	Assignment 2
Unit 3	Dimensions of diplomacy	Week 3	Assignment 3
Unit 4	The Scope of Diplomacy	Week 4	Assignment 4
Module 2	The History and Practice of Diplomacy		
Unit 1	Diplomatic History	Week 5	Assignment 1
Unit 2	Appointments, Recall & Reception of Dip.	Week 6	Assignment 2
Unit 3	Characteristics/Qualities of Diplomats	Week 7	Assignment 3
Unit 4	Functions of Diplomatic Missions	Week 8	Assignment 4
Module 3	Patterns of Diplomatic Relations		
Unit 1	Types of Diplomacy	Week 9	Assignment 1

Unit 2	Diplomatic Nomenclatures	Week 10	Assignment 2
Unit 3	Diplomatic Immunities and Privileges	Week 11	Assignment 3
Unit 4	Breach of Diplomatic Relations	Week 11	Assignment 4
Module 4	Diplomacy in a Changing World		
Unit 1	Diplomacy at the United Nations	Week 12	Assignment 1
Unit 2	The Changing Nature of Diplomacy	Week 13	Assignment 2
Unit 3	The use of Regional Organization in Dip.	Week 14	Assignment 3
Unit 4	The EU and Developments in Dip. Method	Week 15	Assignment 4
		Week	
	Revision	1	
	Examination	1	
	Total	17	

How to Get the Most from This Course

In distance learning, the study units replace the University lecture. This is one of the great advantages of distance learning; you can read and work through specially designed study materials at your own pace, and at a time and place that suits you best. Think of it as reading the lecture instead of listening to the lecturer. In the same way a lecturer might give you some reading to do, the study units tell you where to read, and which are your text materials or set books. You are provided exercises to do at appropriate points, just as a lecturer might give you an in-class exercise. Each of the study units follows a common format. The first item is an introduction to the subject matter of the unit, and how a particular unit is integrated with the other units

and the course as a whole. Next to this is a set of objectives. These objectives let you know what you should be able to do by the time you have completed the unit. These learning objectives are meant to guide your study. The moment a unit is finished, you must go back and check whether you have achieved the objectives. If this is made a habit, then you will significantly improve your chances of passing the course. The main body of the unit guides you through the required reading from other sources. This will usually be either from your set books or from a reading section. The following is a practical strategy for working through the course. If you run into any trouble, telephone your tutor. Remember that your tutor's job is to help you. When you need assistance, do not hesitate to call and ask your tutor to provide it.

Read this Course Guide thoroughly, it is your first assignment.

1.   Organize a Study Schedule. Design a 'Course Overview' to guide you through the Course. Note the time you are expected to spend on each unit and how the Assignment relate to the units. Whatever method you choose to use, you should decide and write in your own dates and schedule of work for each unit.

2. Once you have created your own study schedule, do everything to stay faithful to it. The major reason why students fail is that they get behind with their course work. If you get into difficulties with your schedule, please, let your tutor know before it is too late to help.

3.   Turn to unit 1, and read the introduction and the objectives for the unit.

4.   Assemble the study materials. You will need your set books and the unit you are studying at any point in time. As you work through the unit, you will know what sources to consult for further information.

5. Keep in touch with your study center. Up-to-date course information will be continuously available there.

6. Well before the relevant due dates (about 4 weeks before due dates), keep in mind that you will learn a lot by doing the assignment carefully. They have been designed to help you meet the objectives of the course and, therefore, will help you pass the examination. Submit all assignments not later than the due date.

7. Review the objectives for each study unit to confirm that you have achieved them. If you feel unsure about any of the objectives, review the study materials or consult your tutor.

8. When you are confident that you have achieved a unit's objectives, you can start on the next unit. Proceed unit by unit through the course and try to pace your study so that you keep yourself on schedule.

9. When you have submitted an assignment to your tutor for marking, do not wait for its return before starting on the next unit. Keep to your schedule. When the assignment is returned, pay particular attention to your tutor's comments, both on the tutor marked assignment form and also the written comments on the ordinary assignment.

10. After completing the last unit, review the course and prepare yourself for the final examination. Check that you have achieved the unit objectives (listed at the beginning of each unit) and the course objectives (listed in the Course Guide).

Tutor and Tutorials

Information relating to tutorials will be provided at the appropriate time. Your tutor will mark and comment on your assignments, keep a close watch on your progress and on any difficulties you might encounter and provide assistance to you during the course. You must take your tutor marked assignments to the study centre well before the due date (at least two working days are required). They will be marked by your tutor and returned to you as soon as possible.

Do not hesitate to contact your tutor if you need help. Contact your tutor if:

. You do not understand any part of the study units or assigned readings

. You have difficulty with the exercises

. You have a question or problem with an assignment or with your tutor's comments on an assignment or with the grading of an assignment.

You should try your best to attend tutorials. This is the only chance to have face-to-face contact with your tutor and ask questions which are answered instantly. You can raise any problem encountered in the course of your study. To gain the maximum benefit from course tutorials, prepare a question list before attending them. You will learn a lot from participating in discussion actively.

Summary

The Course Guide gives you an overview of what to expect in the cause of this study. The course introduces to you all that you need to know about the evolution, changes and developments in the present international system and also teaches you the basic ingredients of inter- state relations.

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MODULE 1: THE STUDY OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

UNIT 1: THE SUBJECT MATTER OF INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM

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1.0   INTRODUCTION

International Relations is a subject that has assumed greater importance since the end of the World War II. More specifically, the importance of the subject derives from among other things the fact that it deals with issues that impinge on the very survival of the human race and human civilization, as we know it today. Indeed, as Sondermann *et al.,* cited in "Samuel and Adam (1962) pointed out, "it will not be too much to assert that it is the solution or lack of solution of that set of problems that come under the heading of 'international relations' that will shape the design of the future"

2.0   OBJECTIVES

At the successful completion of this unit, you should be able to:
* Explain the basic knowledge of international system
* Outline the differences and similarities between international relations and political science and;
* Examine the different approaches to the study of international relations.

3.0   MAIN CONTENT

3.1   Definition of International Relations
Due to the complexity of the nature and scope of international studies, it has proved difficult to find a simple but generally acceptable definition of the term 'international relations'. The problem of definition is in part due to the origin of the study of the discipline.

In 1935, Sir, Alfred Zimmern, a Professor of International Relations at Oxford, argued: "The study of International Relations extends from the natural sciences at one end to moral philosophy … at the other."(Joseph Frankel, 1973). He conceived International Relation not as a single subject but as "bundle of subjects…viewed from a common angle".

Frederick Dunn, on the other hand, contends that international relations may be looked upon as the actual boundaries, or as the body of knowledge which we have of those relations at any given time (McClellan, 1966).

In 1978, Travor Taylor, defined the subject as "the discipline which tries to explain activities across state boundaries and to date, it has been chiefly concerned with the political relations between governments, the official representatives of states" (Trevor Roper,1978).

Each of these definitions is problematic. For example, Dunn's definitions are too broad and too restrictive. There is a need to emphasize the political significance of transnational relations, while relations across national boundaries may not cover all the phenomena that have come to be regarded as part of international relations.

Nicholas J. Spykman describes international behaviour as relations between individuals belonging to different states. International behaviour is the social behaviour of individuals or groups aimed… or influenced by the existence or behaviour of individuals or groups belonging to different states (Dougherty and Pfatzgraft, 1971). Quincy Wright argues that, international relations "included relations between many entities of uncertain sovereignty." He further contends: "as a subject of study, it is not limited by legal formalism which alone could not at any moment precisely indicate what entities are sovereign or what are not." (Wright, 1955).

Some Scholars see power as the key to international politics. They therefore, define international relations as the subject that deals with those relations among nations, which involve power status. Thus Quincy Wright defines it as "relations between powerful groups." But such definitions, of course, ignore the fact that many actions between states do not involve the use of power of such states.

In the light of the absence of broad agreement on a definition, it is very important to have a purely operational definition of international relations. And, according to Stanly Hoffman, "the discipline of international relations is concerned with the factors and the activities which affect the external policies and power of the basic units into which the world is divided." In other words, it is concerned with "all the exchange, transactions, contacts, flows of information and the attending and resulting behavioral responses between and among separated organized societies."(Navari in Leonard Tivey 1981). In short, then, international relations could encompass many different activities… social, economic, cultural, religious, etc., in so far as they have implications for international political relations.

Although, there are generalists in the field, international relations can nonetheless be broken into micro-areas of specialization, such as the military/strategic, sociological and physiological aspects, political, economic, foreign policy analysis and finally, international organisations. These areas of specialization are in themselves indicative

of the changing nature of the international system both in terms of its scope and the needs of its members as well as fears about its future.

SELF-ASSESSMENT EXCERCISE
Give an operational definition of international relations according to Stanley Hoffman.

3.2.   The Study of International Relations
There was no systematic development of the study of international relations before World War I. Prior to this time, most writings on inter-state relations centered primarily on diplomatic history and international law. The approach was basically static and legalistic and was concerned with a blow-by blow account of events between and among states. The emphasis was on describing with as much detail and accuracy as possible, the particulars of specific incidents in history. Neither was an attempt made to theorize nor was there a quest for policy goals.

However, the catastrophic effect of the First World War stimulated interest in the study of international relations. With total battle deaths at 9 million, the concern was with contemporary problems in general and the problem of the war in particular. The concern therefore, was with the conditions under which war might be avoided and peace maintained. This served as the major stimulant to the study of international relations.

Two major research institutions- The Royal Institute of International Affairs in London and the Council on Foreign Relations in New York were set up immediately after the war. Chairs were also established at the University College of Wales in Aberystwyth in 1922 and at the London School of Economics and Political Science in 1923 for the study of international relations. The study later spread, although at a low pace, to continental Europe. Throughout the inter war- period, the diplomatic-historical perspective persisted. However, the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917posed a serious and increasing threat to the paradigm.

The post World War I environment made it conducive for 'utopians' or 'idealists' to concern themselves with the means of preventing another war in the international system. In general, they view human nature as essentially 'good' and capable of mutual aid and collaboration. They also recognize that it is the fundamental instinct of man to cater for the welfare of others that make progress possible. As a result, bad human behavior is the product not of evil people but of evil institutions and structural arrangements that create incentives for people to act selfishly and harm others including making wars. Therefore, war, is not inevitable and can be eliminated by doing away with those institutional arrangements that encourage it. To this end, there is a need for a global rather than a national approach to the elimination of war in the international system.

Three different ideas dominated both academic discussions and policy rhetoric during this period. The first called for the establishment of supra-institutions. The founding of

League of Nations was thus conceived as an instrument that would eliminate war, once and for all. The second emphasized the legal control of war. This idea found expression in the Kellog-Briand Pact of 1928, which outlawed war as an instrument of national policy-except in self defence. The third and final idea called for the elimination of weapons of war as a means of achieving peace. The attempts at global disarmament and arms control evident in the Washington Naval Conference of the 1920s were a reflection of this view.

The outbreak of the Second World War led to widespread debate, criticism and rejection of idealist paradigms. Thus, a new political movement, called 'political realism' came to challenge the idealist. Notable among the realist were E.H. Carr, H. J. Morgenthau, R. Niebuhr, George Kennan and Henry Kissinger. The views of these scholars were the antithesis of the assumptions of the rationalists; they saw the pursuit of national power as natural development in the international system. Besides, they also posited that those states, which neglect to strive for power, actually invited war. The logical corollary therefore, is that, if all states search for power, peace and stability will result through the operation of a balance of power system propelled by self-interest and lubricated by fluid alliance system.

The first and notable break-through in that regard was Hans Morgenthau, *Politics Among Nations* in 1948, which first successfully shifted the emphasis from diplomatic history and international law to power as a the main *raison d'etre* of state behavior in the international system. Morgenthau argued persuasively, that the major concern of states is the acquisition of power, which he defines as "man's control over the minds and actions of other men" (1967). He argued further, that states strive to increase their power in other to be able to pursue and/or protect their national interest. Since states in the international system do not always pursue complementary interests, how much a particular state is able to get from the system or from other states, would depend very much on its power. According to Morgenthau, this state of affairs is what is responsible for what he described as the endless struggle for power by states in the international system.

The pessimism of the post-war era, reinforced by the emergence of the super powers, the development of nuclear weapons, and the inception of the Cold War, facilitated the growth of political realism. However, political realism raised many empirical questions than it could answer. It lacks a "methodology for resolving competing claims as well as criteria for determining which data would count as significant information and which rules would be followed in interpreting data"
The theoretical and methodological problems associated with the realist school gave rise to behaviouralism (or more systematic) or scientific study of political science in particular. This approach has been defined as the systematic search for political patterns through the formulation of empirical theory and the technical analysis and verification thereof. Behaviouralism involves two basic emphasis: the formulation of concepts, hypothesis, and explanation in the systematic terms, and empirical method research. From R.C. Snyder *et. al.,* decision-making as an approach to the study of international politics, the debate and controversy between the behaviouralists and the

traditionalists raged throughout the 1950s and 1960s. The 'scientists' vary greatly in their techniques, purposes and subject of interest. However, common to all of them is the search for greater rigor in analysis. They expected that cumulative studies would gradually reveal general patterns of international politics and lead to a general theory.

However, by the late 1960s, there was a general and increasing recognition that behavioral approach does not provide answers to all questions. Although it made great contributions to the study and understanding of international politics, its insights are limited and were after all, not superior to those resulting from the historical approach. This awareness suggested to scholars, the need to combine both techniques.

The failure of the behaviouralists to make theoretical advances gave rise in the late 1960s, to the "post-behaviouralists" who were concerned mainly with peace research. This school placed less emphasis on scientific method as such and more on the need for new ideas, which would reduce the incidence of war. Besides, the debates over the approaches were becoming irrelevant to the issues being raised by the post 1960s international system, poverty, population, hunger, violence, etc. by the post 1970s, the debate began to mellow. No doubt, advocates of realism, traditionalism and behaviouralism still remain in the field, but these issues themselves no longer constitute the central concern of contemporary scholarship.

As a field of study, at present, international relations does not have a single dominant approach for interpreting the world. With the expansion of the global agenda and the proliferation of the number and type of issues and actors, in the international system, a rich variety of approaches have arisen to deal conceptually with each of them. Predictably, the field is fragmented, as there is no consensus about the nature of the international environment. Different students of international relations describe different aspects of the field to which they direct attention. There are those whose focus is primarily on the relationship between the USA and the former USSR (now Russia). Some approach the subject from an ideological perspective, while others do it from the systematic perspective. Economic issues and the problems of underdevelopment in the Third World have also led to the use of the concepts such as neo-imperialism, dependence and structural aggression. Closely related to these new developments has been a resurgence of political economy. Political economy emphasises the interaction of economic and political forces. It seeks greater integration of politics and economics.

Another trend that emerged in the 1970s was the 'transnational school'. The scholars in this school posed a serious challenge to the centric perspective. Oran Young, one of its proponents, claims for instance, that "the rapid and continuing developments in a variety of areas such as communication, transportation, military technology, have caused an effective shrinking of the world and have led to a situation in which the state, nation-state and state system are increasingly obsolete and ineffective structure for the achievements of human security and welfare.

Closely related to the transnational approach is the concept of international interdependence as an approach to the study of international relations. Added to all these perspectives are the functionalists, neo-functionalists, world federalists and integration theories, which posit that the gradual obliteration of national frontiers and the political consolidation or federation of the world's inhabitants would create 'security zones'.

Finally, there has been a gradual and increasingly widespread evolution of futurology in the analysis of international relations. Although futurologists take diverse approaches, a common concern to all of them is the attempt to shape the future to preferred goals. The approach is informed by the realization that long-range economic and defence planning are critical to the well-being and survival of national states and by the need to be able to respond to increasingly complex global challenges.

4.0. CONCLUSION

The focus of study in international relations as in political science is often the structure and operation of the system. However, students of international relations are concerned with the decision-making process only in so far as it may provide information about the sort of decisions that are likely to emerge. It is also important to know that there are international relations scholars who do not attach any significance to the decision making process. They accept a 'state as actors' approach which posits that states behave in basically similar ways to their external environment irrespective of their domestic political system.

5.0 SUMMARY

In this unit, you have been introduced to the subject matter of international relations. We have argued that the complexity of the nature and scope of international studies makes it difficult for practitioners of the field to arrive at a consensus definition of international relations. You were also able to trace the development of the field of study of international relations. Lastly, you learned that as a field of inquiry, international relations does not have a single dominant approach for interpreting the world. It is therefore, obvious from the foregoing analysis that international relations is a dynamic field of study. This is to be expected, because as we have tried to point out earlier in this unit, it is one of the youngest disciplines in the social sciences.

6.0   TUTOR MARKED ASSIGNMENTS (TMAS)

1. Write short notes on the following: (a) Idealists Paradigms (b) Political Realism.
2. Discuss international interdependence as an approach to the sstudy of international relations.

7.0   REFERENCES/FURTHER READINGS

Akinboye, Solomon and Ottoh, Ferdinand (2005). Systematic Approach to International Relations. Lagos: Concept Publications.

Adesola, Funso (2004). International Relations: An Introductory Text. Ibadan: College Press and Publishers.

Ojo, Olusola (2002). *Concepts in International Relations.* Ibadan: University Press.

Trevor, Roper (1978). *"Introduction: The Nature of International Relations"* in Trevor Toper (ed) *"Approaches and Theory in International Relations"* London: Longman.

UNIT 2: THE INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM

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1.0. Introduction
2.0 Objectives
3.0 Main Body
   3.1 Is International System Really a System?
   3.2 The Origin of the System
   3.3 Characteristics of Contemporary International System
4.0. Conclusion
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7.0. References/Further Readings.

1.0. INTRODUCTION

International Relations scholars have for a long time been applying the concept of 'system' or 'system approach' in their analysis and description of the relationships between both state and non-state actors in the international arena. However, the description of the international system as a 'system' is borrowed from theory in the natural sciences. International Relations analysts imply in their analogy that we can liken the global system to a human body, which is a 'biological system'. They reasoned that just as a biological system like human body can be divided into sub-systems such as the 'respiratory sub-system' or the digestive sub-system', so is the

international system, which is divisible into sub-systems or regions such as 'Africa', the 'Middle East', 'Europe', 'Asia', etc. The question can however be asked, is the international system is actually a system?

2.0. OBJECTIVES
At the end of this unit, you should be able to:
- explain the meaning of a system
- explore whether international system is really a system
- describe the origin of international system and
- examine the growth and development of international system.

3.0   MAIN CONTENT

3.1   Is International System Really a System?
International Relations scholars and political scientists have suggested several definitions of 'system' and 'international system'. According to Beer and Ulam, for instance, "by a system we mean at least a high degree of interdependence". For McClelland, "any system is a structure that is perceived to have some identifiable boundaries that separate it from its environment". An international system according to Frankel "consists of a number of units which interact". He further contended, "it is clear that these units conduct their relations not in a social vacuum but within a broader system which evolves its own structure, norms and rules of behaviour.

While it is true that the contemporary international system has units, states, which are in constant interactions, as well as rules or norms, and sometimes clear cut boundaries which by definition also qualify it as a 'system', there are nonetheless very important differences between it and a natural or biological system. First of all, a biological system is 'natural', whilst the international system is artificial. Besides, it is largely a 'cultural' and 'conceptual' creation of the international politics and international relations analyst. This major feature of the international system is acknowledged by McClelland when he said that it is "abstract, descriptive and theoretical." To him, therefore, the description of the international system as a 'system' "constitutes an expression to stimulate thoughts.' From such a perspective, then, states in the international system are conceived to be in contact and associate in a complicated framework of relationships, which is formed through the process of interactions (McClelland, 1962).

Finally, you should realise that the international system unlike the biological system, is voluntary. Its members, basically states, join it on their own free will—a phenomenon which is very common to the former colonial territories of Africa, Asia, the Middle East and Latin America- to constitute themselves as a system. Besides, they also have to set their own objectives and rules of procedure. For example, we have the United Nations (UN), the African Union (AU), or the European Union (EU). What is important to note is that all these organisations, irrespective of how powerful or rich they may be, are superficial in many ways, when compared with a biological

system, which actually exists below what we can call the surface of appearances and therefore can be called 'real.' Put differently, you can 'feel' a biological system, be it a human being or not, because it is physical, while the international system is abstract.

The second difference between the two types of systems is that the 'sub-systems' of a biological system are more closely knit and coherent than their counterparts in the international system. As Spiro rightly noted, "biological and physical systems at least seem to the observer or analyst to have an 'objective coherence'… while imperfect interdependence and relationships seem to be the most important features of international system." However, he argues further that "since the principal point of departure of the political scientist is the emphasis on interdependence", it is therefore, also the greatest weakness of the system approach to the study of international relations. True, there is interdependence especially in the economic sphere, among states in the international system but there is not much interdependence in many other vital areas.

The relationships and interdependence between members of the international system are tenuous especially in the political sphere. Besides, some members of the system or sub-systems may choose to isolate themselves off from the rest of the world, or to have minimum contacts with other states, without affecting the overall global system in an appreciable manner. China, for example, isolated itself from the rest of the world for nearly four decades without any serious impacts on the over all functioning of the world system. Again, a war may be raging in one sub-system of the world while the rest of the international system goes about its affairs in a relatively 'happy mood' with only occasional concern about the events in the affected areas, as reported in the media. This is still the case even in age of unprecedented globalization. The contrary is the case with regard to natural sub-systems in their relationships with their dominant system, the human body, for instance. The 'circulatory system' for example, cannot be cut-off from the rest of the body without serious and even fatal consequences.

SELF-ASSEMENT EXCERCISE
Compare and contrast International System and Biological System.

3.2. The Origin of the International System

The international system is roughly estimated to be between 400 and 500 years old; a relatively short time considering the fact that man's recorded history dates back several hundreds thousand years. It is generally agreed among scholars of international relations that the contemporary states systems dates back to the Treaty of Westphalia of 1648, which brought the thirty years War to an end in Europe, and the independence of units in the Holy Roman Empire.

However, the broad agreement among scholars regarding the origins of the international system does not imply that there were no other systems before 1648.

Indeed we can identify several state systems prior to the Treaty of Westphalia; for example, the Greek City States, the Imperial Chinese system, the Indian state system and the Roman and Byzantine empires, the Mali and Songhai empires in West Africa, to mention a few of them. These state systems did not conduct some forms of international relations among members, but they were limited in scope and were in many ways quite different from the contemporary state system or indeed, the sub-systems for that matter. For instance, relations between the units in the above 'systems' were conducted either in the name of the Pope, or Monarch, Dukes or Duchesses, as the case may be. In the Holy Roman Empire for instance, the Pope was regarded both as the temporal and spiritual leader of the empire. All the principalities and dukedoms within the empire owed their loyalty to the Pope and international relations in that period were conducted in his name.

Furthermore, International Relations in that era were also highly personalized. The state, as an independent entity conducting international relations on the basis of its national interest and subject to superior body was unknown. As Quentin Skinner has noted, the pre-1648 era had an absence of the "distinctively modern idea of state as a forum of public power separate from both the ruler and the ruled and consisting of the supreme political authority within a certain defined territory." Infact, the idea of the state as an "independent political apparatus distinct from the ruler and which the ruler has a duty to maintain" continued Quentin, was totally unheard of before 1648.

C.J. Hayes supports Quentin's exposition on this point, that is, the pre-Westphalia state system. He pointed out that "neither the Holy Roman Empire, nor the Greco-Byzantine Empire would recognize as equals the sovereigns of the kingdoms that were growing up about them; and without a theoretical equality of independent sovereign states; international relations as we know it today is not possible. Finally, F.S. Northedge is of the view that the "prevailing theory of government" in the pre-1648 period, "was that local ruler was in some, not always well defined sense, a viceroy of the Pope."

However, the Treaty of Westphalia put an end to all that. It also brought to end the dual role of the Pope as both the spiritual and temporal leader of the Holy Roman Empire. What happened in 1648 was that the Treaty of Westphalia granted independence to all the dependencies within the Holy Roman Empire, The Dukedoms and principalities, etc. And with the collapse of the empire, henceforth, all the former units were to be regarded as politically equal to one another, and subject to no other superior authority. Besides, as sovereign and independent entities or states, they were also on their own, they were to fend for, protect themselves in the new international system. Again, they were free to conduct international relations without any political or legal constraints from superior authority or body. The Treaty established the fact that the *raison d'etre* of any government or ruler is the "maintenance and defence of the interests of the sovereign territorial state." In short, then, the Treaty of Westphalia brought into being the European state system which subsequently became globalized, especially since the end of the Second World War, and particularly since the end of the Cold War in 1989.

3.3. Characteristics of the Contemporary International Political System.

The basic characteristics of the international system as established in 1648 have not changed much since that time. The state, for instance remains the most basic unit of the international system although the increasing importance of non-state actors such as multinational corporations, liberation movements, international organisations and even individuals, is acknowledged by both practitioners and scholars in international politics.

Another basic feature of the current international system, which remained unaltered since 1648, is that it is highly decentralized. There is no central administrative, political or military authority unlike the situation within national states. Although the United Nations comes closest to an international authority or what some scholars and diplomats call world government, it has severe short comings. For instance, its decisions, even when they are mandatory like those of the Security Council, can be safely ignored by states. Besides, it has no standing army, an indispensable arm of contemporary domestic system.

A consequence of the decentralized nature of the international system is that both state and none state actors are guided by their perception of their self-interest in interactions with other units in the system. However, it should be noted that the absence of a central government authority does not in any way make the international system synonymous with anarchy or chaos. On the contrary, there is order and routine in the contemporary system, especially in its day-to-day operations. Besides, there are norms and rules of intercourse that guide states and non-states actors in their behaviour towards one another even in conflict situations.

Notwithstanding, the *modus operandi* of the international system is characterised by both the use and threat of the use of force. It is a situation of both conflict as well as cooperation. This is expected for several reasons. First, because of the absence of an executive authority in the international system, states and non-state actors have to rely on their own resources – power- for the achievement of their individual and corporate interests. But the proliferation of international organisations and the existence of norms of inter-state behaviour, exercise some restraints on state actions, especially in their resort to the use of force in the international system. However, this is only in so far as the interests at stake are not perceived as 'vital' or 'core' interests, i.e., the state's territorial integrity, security of its government, leaders, etc.

Although, with the increasing deadliness of weapons of war and the techniques of conducting war, in the contemporary international system, there were growing fears that the contemporary international system would not continue in its present form for too long without a major war between the dominant powers and their blocks, the Soviet Union and the United States of America. Fortunately, with the end of the Cold War and the collapse of the Soviet Union in the 1990s, this fear has receded

considerably, although Russia, the successor state, remains a powerful nuclear country.

4.0. CONCLUSION
The contemporary political system is characterized by a very high degree of interdependence especially in the economic sphere. Today, unlike in the 19th century system, states are no longer self-sufficient or self-contained and impermeable entities. For the first time in the history of the system, we can now talk of an international economy or international economic relations that cut across all the continents of the world. In the contemporary international system, it is almost impossible for any state to embark upon a policy of economic isolation.

5.0. SUMMARY
The international system is in the final analysis, is merely a convenient approximation that is useful in studying the international relations. In other words, it helps in describing the relationship between and among states on the one hand and those between one sub-system and another on the other hand.

6.0 TUTOR MARKED ASSIGNMENTS (TMAS)

1) Trace the origin of the present international political system
2) The basic characteristics of the contemporary international systems as established in 1648 have not changed much. Discuss.

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Unit 3: Dynamics of International Relations

Contents

1.0. INTRODUCTION

One of the most remarkable features of the contemporary international system is its rapid transformation from an essentially European to a global system within the span of a few hundred years. The system has since the 19th century witnessed changes not only in terms of the number of units but also in regard of its geographical boundaries. These changes are much more noticeable when we compare, for instance, the 19th and 20th centuries. It should be pointed out however, that such changes did not take place in a blow. They span over several phases. First, was the admission of the United States of America into the European system following successful rebellion of the 13 colonies against British Crown and the subsequent civil war, which led to the unification of the country in the 18th century. Following that induction, the United States of American temporarily withdrew from the system but they were to reappear in full force during and after the First World War. The role of President Woodrow Wilson at the Peace Conference in Versailles and the creation of the League of Nations as well as its collapse a decade or so later, was clearly a pointer not only to what was to be expected from the US in future, but also to the declining status of Europe as the dominant centre in then international system.

2.0. OBJECTIVES

At the successful completion of this unit, you should be able to:
- examine some dynamics in international relations
- describe the reasons for the shift in power in the system
- buttress the contributions of globalization on present international system
- evaluate the developmental stages of the international system
- predict for the future of the international system.

3.0 MAIN BODY

3.1. The Impact of Globalisation on the Growth of the International System

International relations is defined as the study of the relations between and among states. It is concerned with international law, diplomacy, and the grand issues of war and peace. It is also concerned with vital issues such as human rights, the environment, health, which concern every one regardless of what states they belong to. Increasingly, globalisation, the increasing interdependence of states, impinges on the domestic affairs of states and affects their governments and politics. The major development in the growth of present day international system is the globalization process which saw the independence of the Spanish colonies in the Latin America and the subsequent recognition of such by Britain, in the first quarter of the nineteenth century. Their admission did not only increase the number of units within the system but also extended its geographical boundaries.

Another angle was the acceptance of Japan into the system following its unexpected defeat over Russia in 1905. That defeat, of what was definitely a member of the dominant European system then, was a warning that events at the centre would no longer dictate events in the international system. This was to be emphasized later with the admission and subsequent withdrawal of Japan from the League of Nations, its attack on US fleet at Pearl Harbour and role in the Second World War. Today Japan is one of the foremost economic giant in the system.

Another stage in the globalisation process involved the enforced participation of China in the European dominated system. The Chinese presence in international affairs was however not immediately noticeable in spite of their induction by the European powers, especially Britain. It was not until about 1943, that is, two years to the end of the Second World War, that China was fully integrated into the system. Even then, the end of the war in 1945, and successful communist revolution in China led by Mao Tse Tung in 1949, led to a serious rift between that country and the United States. The latter supported the Chinese enclave of Formosa or Taiwan, which claimed to represent China's seat; thanks to support given to it by the United States and its allies. Consequently, Mainland China was not able to participate in, or join the United Nations until 1971 when the US dropped its opposition to its admission. Since 1971, then, China has occupied not only China seat at the General Assembly but also that in the Security Council. This event sealed its membership of, and participation in the international system.

Furthermore in the world wide expansion of the system involved the admission of the Arab states following the break up of the Ottoman Empire as a result of its defeat in the First World War and recently, the independence of the former European colonies in Africa and Asia. These areas had been under the direct tutelage of Europe. As such, they were merely objects of the international system. Their independence and admission into the system completed the process of world integration. It saw the expansion of the system to all five continents of the world and also more than doubled

the number of units within it. Today, the system as represented by the United Nations boasts of over one hundred and fifty states, the majority of which are Afro-Asia. Indeed, Africa alone accounts for about a third of membership, fifty-four states in all.

Globalisation has of course both adverse and positive impacts on the system. One of the most obvious impacts is its all-embracing nature. It incorporates states with varying geographical sizes, population, wealth and levels of economic development. In that sense, the contemporary system is the most democratic because all members irrespective of size and endowment are presumed to be equal. This is expressed in the one state one vote rule in the General Assembly of the United Nations (UNGA).

Another development from the above point is that the newly independent states of Africa and Asia who command a numerical superiority in the system also brought with them special needs and objectives which they have been trying to promote in the system. Some of these needs include, for instance the issue of decolonization, economic development, racial equality etc. Besides that, their emergence into the system has had some positive impact on the cold war super power relationships especially as they are manifested in the UN system.

3.2. The Shift in Economic, Political and Military Power

There has been a noticeable shift in economic, political and military power within the system. These powers have shifted away from Europe to centers in the former Soviet Union, and the United States and Japan. Today, key decisions affecting even Europe are sometimes taken outside that continent, and mainly by the Soviet Union and the United States-especially in the Cold War era- or-by Third World countries. The most significant example was the decision by the Arab Petroleum Exporting Countries to impose an oil embargo on the West Europeans who depended on the Arabs for a large proportion of their petroleum needs.

Besides that, the major proponents of the two previously dominant political ideologies in the world system were not European countries, again- the former USSR and the US. Moreover, the two countries which possess the means of obliterating human civilization from the face of the earth as we know it today are also non European-the Russian and the United States. Ironically, the American nuclear umbrella against Russian threat today protects even Europe. Thus, the circle seems to have been completed.

One of the negative effects of globalization is the fact that the newly independent states are yet to evolve peaceful means of political succession. The result has been constant political turmoil and instability sometimes leading to complete break down of law and order. Occasionally, such civil strife invited the intervention of the great powers thus posing serious threat to international peace and stability. In short, in the contemporary international system, the initiators of action are both the great powers and small powers. The hitherto peripherals areas have assumed an importance if only

negatively, which has made some of them centers of attraction for the great powers. This situation has been enhanced by the ideological alliances-both formal and informal-which some of these states have from time to time entered into with either the Soviet Union or the United States. Thus, events in what used to be the peripheral areas now threaten both peace, stability and the very future of the international system.

Furthermore, the newly, independent states are also prone to natural disasters such as femine, drought, etc. Again, their plight has sometimes had tremendous impact on the rest of the system. These has been facilitated by the revolution in communications technology that has turned the world into a global village in which people from any part of the world get a blow by blow account of what is happening in the other parts and even see live pictures of those events via satellite. This is what we can call, cynic ally, the CNN, revolution. The plight of the Ethiopian drought victims and the massive response that it evoked in Europe and America, the atrocities committed by child soldiers in the civil war in Sierra Leone, etc., are clear cases in point.

The presence of the newly independent states from Africa, Asia, and the Middle East does sometimes constitute serious threats to international peace and security in other important ways. The Afro-Asian countries as they are sometimes called for short are essentially revisionist. That is, they would like to overhaul the entire international system if they have their way, because they consider it disadvantageous. They argue that most of the 'rules of the game' were fashioned out at a time when they were subjugated entities with no direct input into the system. Consequently, some of them have been very eager to throw overboard some of the "anachronistic' rules i.e., the law of the seas, laws on expropriation, and even the economic laws of the system.

It could thus be seen from the foregoing, that the globalization of the international political system, or to put it in another way, its democratization, has had both positive and negative impacts on world politics, peace and stability.

3.3. The Future of the System

What then is the future of the system? It is not easy to prognosticate about the future of anything, but more so about the international system over which one has very little or no control at all. Coupled with this problem is the fact that the system is itself very dynamic. As a result of its pervasive diversity in terms of its membership and their varying capabilities, the system is in many ways a conglomeration of social forces that are always in conflict and collaboration. Besides, the compositions and fortunes of these social forces continue at a pace that is difficult to predict. In the Cold War era, that posed serious challenges as well as opportunities to the system. However, with the end of the Cold War, it is possible to say that the international system's future is now much more assured than ever before. Thus, we could confidently argue now that the structure of the international system would remain by and large the same for the foreseeable future. The state, would for

the foreseeable future, also remain as the basic unit although it is coming under severe pressure from the activities of non-state actors as well.

On the other hand, the developing countries of Africa and the rest of the world would continue to experience social, economic and political turmoil in the foreseeable future. This is more so given the trend in information technology, the marginalization of the state in many traditional spheres and the globalization of the world economy under the auspices of the World Trade Organisation (WTO). From such a perspective and given the rising phenomenon of state collapse especially in Africa, it is doubtful if some states can actually cope with the changes currently taking place in the international system. Even if they do, it would take them a long time to settle down and would invariably be 'Third Class' members of the international system.

It would nevertheless be premature to conclude that we are moving into a new world order when states would be their brothers' keepers. In short, there would continue to be double standards in the international system. Each state would also essentially be responsible for its own safety and prosperity of its citizens. Other countries and indeed, non-state actors would assist when they can but the onus would by and large be on the leaders of each state to take care of these very important traditional activities.

The Pity is that African leaders are yet to learn this very basic lesson in international politics more than fifty years after the first black territory, Ghana, attained political independence. One is then left to wonder how long it would take it to master this very trite lesson. Only time will tell. What is not incontrovertible, however, is that other nations and regions of the world would not wait for Africa to catch up with them. Unfortunately, now that the Cold War has come to an end, African states do not have the luxury of blackmailing the Super Powers to come to their aid in diverse ways as they used to do. Thus, in the long run African leaders would either have to sit up or make way for those who can.

4.0. CONCLUSION
Globalisation has of course both adverse and positive impacts on the international system. One of the most obvious impacts is its all-embracing nature. It incorporates states with varying geographical sizes, population, wealth and levels economic development. In that sense, the contemporary system is the most democratic because all members irrespective of size and endowment are presumed to be equal.

5.0. SUMMARY
We have confidently argued in this unit, that the structure of the international system would remain by and large the same for the foreseeable future. And again, that the state, would for the foreseeable future, also remain as the basic unit in the international system, although it is coming under severe pressure from the activities of non-state actors.

6.0.   TUTOR MARKED ASSIGNMENTS (TMAS)

1) Critically examine the impact of globalization on the growth and development of the contemporary international system.
2) What are consequences of the shift in economic, political, military power in Europe?
3) Discuss the future of the international system.

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Unit 4: Phases in the International Relations

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1.0.   INTRODUCTION

It is important to mention that man evolved from the state of nature which was characteristically primitive and according to the European Philosopher (Thomas Hobbes), life then was "brutish, short, and nasty". The rule then was basically the survival of the fittest because might instead of reason was the in-thing. Shortly after the primitive society, came the Medieval European System, which manifested at the collapse of the Holy Roman Empire.

2.0.   OBJECTIVES
At the successful completion of this unit, you should be able to:
- trace the historical events that took place before state system
- describe the phases in the evolution of international relations
- explain the terminologies that emerged from the Treaty of Westphalia

3.0   MAIN CONTENT

3.1   The Medieval European System
The medieval European System was characterised by series of internecine ethnic, religious, political and ideological wars. The medieval period was also referred to as the Dark Ages and Europe nearly returned to the imperial womb. In other words, the Roman notion that spiritual and secular (political) power are the same was nearly revived, but for the spread of Islam.

Feudalism consequently began to be dominant and the manner of loyalty and political obligation began to change; same as the manner of religious obligations. This change of loyalties resulted into a transfer of allegiance from religions to secular authorities and from local to national authorities of governments.

By the 15th century, the *Italian City-States* system had developed under clearly secular rulers. Politics to them was not based on religion, but on reasons of the state. Savagery that characterized religious wars had reduced, but was not totally eradicated. 'Necessary war' (i.e., interest of the state) replaced 'Just wars'. (i.e., wars for religious justification). Dogmatism was eradicated and the leaders of the Italian City States unashamedly gave room to compromise.

Italian City States established permanent diplomatic missions (i.e., embassies), career diplomats and complete privileges and immunities that go with it. When diplomacy failed, in their relationship with others, the Italian rulers resorted to the whole arsenal of threat, bribe, subversion, assassination, and war ultimately. These wars would not even be fought between individual citizens but between mercenaries that are paid. The wars were not prominently fought to destroy the opponent (so as not to stimulate unfavorable reactions or coalition) but to strike a desirable balance in order to cause stability in the system. In view of this, some scholars have argued that the Italian state system is the bridge between the Medieval and the Modern International System and state system.

3.2 The Treaty of Westphalia

The Treaty of Westphalia which ended the thirty-year war, that engulfed Europe, also gave impetus to contemporary international system. Infact, as we have argued earlier in this module, that modernity (or at least the modern international system) started in 1648 when the treaty was signed. Though the Westphalia Treaty was not a panacea or did not result into end of wars in Europe, it however gave credence to the following:

(i) **Sovereign Statehood**- it signaled the decline of supremacy of the papacy and emphasized the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of other states.

(ii) **International Law**- it signaled the decline of observance of the medieval rules on state conduct and promoted international law which sovereign rulers consented to.

(iii) **Diplomacy**- it brought about the idea of establishing permanent diplomatic missions as well as rules of diplomacy, such as acknowledgement of diplomatic immunities, extra-territoriality of embassies (which means working in them means working in an international space which is immuned from the laws of the host state) etc.

(iv) **Balance of Power**- it also influenced the idea of ensuring relative equality in political, economic and military power of states at the international level. Again, by the 15th century European influence had started in North America and transplanted European culture and system of government. The European leaders only saw the areas of America that were colonized as mere sources of revenue. However, by the mid-1770s the British-Americans began to question their subservience to Britain, which resulted in the American War of independence in 1776.

3.3 The Concert System

Another development to modernity in international system is the Concert System. This was an epoch-making event in European periodic summit or conference system meant to discuss or settle matters bordering on common interest. The concert system started in 1815 when the Napoleonic wars nearly rented the whole of Europe.

Besides the foregoing, is the peace conference, which was convened after the First World War, i.e., The Versailles Treaty. It also encouraged the notion of self determination in the modern international system. The League of Nations that was instituted shortly after World War 1 could not contain the outbreak of the Second World War. This led to the establishment of the United Nations Organisation (UNO) in 1945. Although, the UN has been handicapped on several international issues, it has been able to weather the storm of and heat generated by the Cold War super-power politics:
- contain or prevent a global holocaust in spite of the menacing ownership

- and contestation between and among the nuclear powers
- handle the issue of decolonization as well as seemingly intractable wars in different parts of the globe
- meet the yearnings and aspirations of the new states that proliferated shortly after its establishment (even if it has not met these aspirations adequately)
- grapple with the challenges of the globalization of the international system and its consequences as they unfold.

SELF-ASSESSMENT EXCERCISE
What are the differences, if any, between the European Medieval System and the Concert System.

4.0. CONCLUSION
The crisis of our time is not a temporary one. It is possible that we are living in one of the great transition periods of human history. The real international crisis of our time, says E. H. Carr, "is the final and irrevocable breakdown of the conditions which made the nineteenth-century order possible." It is not only that "foundations are shaking", as one writer describes the "world revolution" of our time, but also that new political forms and relationships are emerging.

International systems today have become truly *international,* and are characterised by a high degree of interaction and interdependence. Clearly the international system is changing in innumerable ways. Old actors are playing new and often reduced roles, and new actors, of uncertain quality and prospects are appearing constantly. We may be witnessing not only major changes within the system, but a systematic change that in time may produce a new pattern of international relations altogether.

5.0. SUMMARY
In this unit, our attention has been focused on the phases in the evolution of the contemporary international system. These phases included the medieval European system, the Treaty of Westphalia and the Concert system. Much of international relations since World War II has centered around the search for a new international system to replace the order that was shattered in two world wars and to work out new patterns of relationships in a world dominated by super-powers and divided between haves and have-not nations, and altered beyond   recognition by the emergence of many new states and by the technological changes consequent upon the nuclear and space age.

6.0. TUTOR MARKED ASSIGNMENTS (TMAS)

1) The United Nations has been handicapped in many international issues. Discuss.
2) The Westphalia treaty was not a panacea or did not result in total end of wars in Europe, discuss the role it played.

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Module 2: Concepts in International Relations

Unit 1: Actors
Unit 2: Foreign Policy
Unit 3: National Interest
Unit 4: The Concept of Power

UNIT 1:   ACTORS

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      3.2   Non-state Actors and Sub state Actors
      3.3   Multi-National Corporations
4.0   Conclusion
5.0   Summary
6.0   Tutor Market Assignments (TMAS)
7.0   References/Further Readings

1.0 INTRODUCTION:
Scholars of International Relations traditionally study the decisions and acts of those governments, in relations to other governments. However, the international system is crowded with several non-state actors large and small that are intimately interwoven with the decisions of governments. These actors are individual leaders and citizens. They are bureaucratic agencies in foreign ministries. They include multinational corporations and terrorist groups etc

2.0   OBJECTIVES
At the end of this unit, you should be able to:
- identify the major actors in international system
- identify the roles of non-state actors in international system
- evaluate the influence of non-state actors on the state actors and
- explain the major role of multi-national corporations as actors in international relations.

3.0 MAIN BODY

3.1 States as Main Actors in the International System

The most important actors in the international system (Relations) are the states. A state is a sovereign territorial entity controlled by a government and inhabited by a population. A national (State) government answers to no higher authority. It exercises sovereignty over its territory to make and enforce laws, to collect taxes etc. The sovereignty is recognised and acknowledged by the other states through diplomatic relations and usually by membership in the United Nations (UN).

The population inhabiting a state forms a civil society to the extent that it has developed institutions to participate in political or social life. All or part of the population that shares a group identity may consider itself a nation.

The state's government is a democracy to the extent that the government is controlled by the members of the population rather than imposed on them. (Note that the word state in international system does not mean a state in Nigeria or state in the United States).

With a few exceptions, each state has a capital city-the seat of government from which it administers its territory-and often a single individual who acts in the name of the state. Often this person is referred to as the head of government (Such as a Prime Minister) or the head of state (such as President, or a King or Queen). In some countries, such as Nigeria, the same person is head of state and government.

In other countries, the positions of president or royalty, or even the prime minister have become symbolic. In any case, they are the most powerful political figure and these figures are the key individual actors in international Relations, regardless of whether these leaders are democratically elected or dictators. The state actors include the individual leaders as well as bureaucratic organisations (such as foreign ministers) that act in the name of the state. National Government may be the most important actors in international system, but they are strongly influenced by a variety of non-state actors. These actors are also called transnational actors when they operate across international boarders.

3.2   Non-State and Sub-State Actors
First, states often take actions through, within, or in the content of intergovernmental organisation (IGOs). These are organisations whose members are national governments. Intergovernmental organisations fulfill a variety of functions and vary in size from just a few states to virtually the whole United Nations membership. The Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC), the World Trade Organisation (WTO), Military alliances such as NATO and political groupings such as the African Union (AU) are all intergovernmental organisations.

Another type of transnational actors is Non-governmental Organisations (NGOs). They are private organisations having some considerable size and resources.

Increasingly, Non- governmental organisations are being recognised in the United Nations and other forms as legitimate actors along with states, though not equal to them. Some of these groups have a political purpose, some a humanitarian one, some an economic or technical one. Sometimes Non-governmental Organisations combine efforts through transnational advocacy networks. There is no single pattern to non-governmental organisation together, intergovernmental organisations and International Non-Governmental Organisations are referred to as international organisations. There are more than twenty five thousand (25,000) International nongovernmental organisations and five thousand (5000) intergovernmental organisations (Keck, Margaret and Sikkunk 1998).

3.3 Multinational Corporations

Multinational Corporations (MNCs) are companies based in one state with affiliated branches or subsidiaries operating in other states. In other words, they are companies that span on multiple countries. There is no exact definition, but the clearest case of an MNC is a large corporation that operates on a worldwide basis in many countries simultaneously with fixed facilities and employees in each country. There is also no exact count of the total number of multinational corporations, but most estimates are in the tens of thousands worldwide. Most important are industrial corporations which make goods in factories in various countries and sell them to business and consumers in various other countries.

The interests of a large company doing business globally do not correspond with one state interest MNCs often control greater resources and operate internationally with greater efficiency than many small states. They may prop up (or even create) friendly foreign governments. But multinational corporations also provide poor states with much needed foreign investment and tax revenue. MNCs on the other hand depend on states to provide protection, well-regulated markets, and a stable political environment.

The role of multinational corporations as actors in international political relational is complex. Some scholars see MNCs as virtually being agents of their home national governments. This view resonates with mercantilism, in which economic activity ultimately serves political authorities. Thus MNCs have clear national identities and act as members of their national society under state authority. A variant of this view (from a more revolutionary world view) considers national governments as being agents of their multinational corporations. Other scholars see multinational corporations as citizens of the world beholden to no government. MNCs act globally in the interest of international stakeholders and owe loyalty to no state.

In any case, MNCs are motivated by the need to maximise profits. Only in the case of state owned MNCs. Even then, managers of state owned MNCs have won greater autonomy to pursue profit in recent years (as part of economic reforms instituted in many countries) and in many cases state owned enterprises are now being sold off (privatised) in a bid to make profits like the private owned corporations.

As independent actors in international arena, MNCs are increasingly powerful. Dozens of industrial MNCs have annual sales of tens of billions of dollars each. Only about 35 states have more economic activity per year (GDP) than did the largest MNC. However the United States has government revenue of $ 2 trillion-about seven times that of wal-Mart. Thus, the power of MNCs does not rival that of the largest states but exceeds that of many poor states.

Giant MNCs contribute to global interdependence. They are deeply in so many states that they have a profound interest in the stable operation of the international system-in security affairs as well as in trade and monetary relations. MNCs prosper in a stable international atmosphere that permits freedom of trade, of movement and of capital flows (investment)- all governed by market forces with minimal government interference.

Most MNCs have a world management system based on subsidiaries in each state in which they operate. The operations within a given state are subject to legal authority of that state's government. But the foreign subsidiaries are owned in whole or in substantial part by the parent MNC in the home country. The parent MNC hires and fires the top managers of its foreign subsidiaries. The business of infrastructure is a key aspect of transnational relations among people and groups across national borders.

In addition to the direct connections among members of a single MNC, the operations of MNCs support a global business infrastructure connecting a transnational community of business people.

4.0 CONCLUSION

Various non-state actors interact with states international organisation and multinational corporations in the international arena. Technological development has brought to lime light the activities of these sub-actors. For instance the terrorist attacks since September 11, 2001, have demonstrated the increasing power that technology gives to terrorist as non-state actors. Just as Greenpeace can travel to remote location and then beam video of its environmental actions there to the world, so too can Al-Qaeda place suicide bombers in world cities, coordinate their operations and finances through the internet and global banking system, and reach global audience with video taped appeals "Global Reach" which was once an exclusive capability of great powers.

5.0. SUMMARY

In this world of globalization of activities there are sub-state and other non-state actors in the international system, but states are still the most important actors. However, to some extent to they are being pushed aside as companies, groups, and individuals deal directly with each other across borders and as the world economy become globally integrated. Now more than ever, international relations extend beyond the interactions of national governments.

6.0.   Tutor Marked Assignments (TMAs)
1) Analyze the activities of state actors in the international system of 21st century.
2) Compare the activities of Multinational Corporations and Nongovernmental Organisation in developing the present international system.

7.0   References/Further readings

Goldstein, Joshua and Pevehouse, John (2008). *International Relations 8th ed.* New York: Pearson Longman.

Keck, Sikkink (1998). *Activists Beyond Border; Advocacy Network in International Politics* New York: Cornel.

UNIT 2:   FOREIGN POLICY

CONTENTS

Introduction
2.0   Objectives
3.0   Main Body
          3.1   What is Foreign Policy?
          3.2   Domestic Politics – Bureaucracies
          3.3   Models of Making Foreign Policies
          3.4   Individual Decision Makers
4.0   Conclusion
5.0   Summary
6.0   Tutor Marked Assignment
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1.0   INTRODUCTION

The actions of states in the international arena result from individual human choices by its citizenry, its political leaders, its diplomats and bureaucrats. These choices are aggregated through the states internal structures. States often arrive at foreign policies that either do not achieve the expected benefits for the country or achieve benefits for only one section of the society (or even one individual) at the expense of the overall national interest.

The most important of all the obstacles to rational decision making may be misperception, in both simple sense of having incorrect information and the more complex sense of filtering information according to one's biases, including biases based on identity affiliations. Consequently, this unit looks at the state from inside out, trying to understand the process and structures within states that make them behave as they do.

2.0   OBJECTIVES
At the end of this unit, you should be able to
  • Define foreign policy
  • Identify the factors that influence foreign policy;
  • Describe the structures and processes involved in foreign policy formulation
  • Different between various models of foreign policy making decision
  • Evaluate various organisations, structure and functional relationship that create and carry out foreign policy

3.0   MAIN CONTENT

3.1   What is Foreign Policy?

Foreign Policy are the policies governments use to guide their actions in the international arena. Foreign Policies spell out objectives state leaders have decided to pursue in a given relationship or situation (Goldstein & Powerhouse; 2008 – 2009

update). International relations scholars are less interested in the specific policies than in foreign policy process – how policies are arrival at and implemented.

States establish various organisational structures and functional relationships to create and carry out foreign policies. Officials and agencies collect information about a situation through various channels, They write memoranda outlining possible options for action, they hold meetings to discuss the matter, some of them meet privately outside the official meetings to decide how to steer the meetings in international relations, scholars are especially interested in exploring whether certain kinds of policy process lead to certain kinds of decision – whether certain process produced better outcomes (for the state's self-defined interest) than others do.

States vary greatly among each other and even within a single state over time. For instance, both capitalist and communist states have proven capable of naked aggression or peaceful behaviour, depending on circumstances.
Some Political Scientists have tried to interpret particular states foreign policies in terms of each one's political culture and history. But foreign policy outcomes results from multiple forces at various levels of analysis. The outcomes depend on individual decision makers, on the type of society and government that it is working within, and on the global and international context of their actions.

SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE
List three other definitions of foreign policy available in the literature on international relations.

3.2   Foreign Policy Decision Making
Foreign policy process refers to the process of decision making. States take actions because people in government- decision makers, choose these actions. Decision making is a steering process in which adjustments are made as a result of feed back from outside world. Decisions are carried out by actions taken to change the world, and then information from the world is monitored to evaluate the effects of actions. These evaluations along with information about other independent changes in the environment go into next round of decision in which foreign policy decision result from the bargaining process among various government agencies with somewhat divergent interest in the outcome.

In 1992, the Japanese government had to decide whether to allow sushi from California to be imported-a weakling of Japan's traditional ban on importing rice (to maintain self-sufficiency in its stable food). The Japanese Agriculture ministry with an interest in the well being of Japanese farmers opposed the imports. The foreign ministry with an interest in smooth relationship with the United States wanted to allow the import. The final decision to import sushi resulted from the tug-of-war between the ministries. Thus according to the government bargaining or bureaucratic model, foreign policy decisions reflect a mix of the interest of state agencies. (Goldstein & Powerhouse, 2008)

3.2 Individual Decision Makers

Every international event is the result, intended or unintended, of decisions made by individual. International relations events do not just happen. The study of individual decision revolves around the question of rationality. To what extend are national leaders or citizens able to make rational decisions in the national interest and thus conform to realist view of international relations?

Individual rationality is not equivalent to state rationality. States might filter individual's irrational decisions so as to arrive at rational choices, or states might distort individually rational decisions and end up with irrational state choices. But realists tend to assume that both states and individuals are rational and that the goals or interest of states correlate with those of leaders.

However, individual decision makers not only have differing values and beliefs, but also have unique personalities, their personal experiences, intellectual capabilities and personal styles of making decisions. Some scholars study individual psychology to understand how personality affects decision making. Psychoanalytic approaches hold that personalities reflect the subconscious influences of childhood experiences. Individual decision making follows an imperfect and partial kind of rationality at best. Not only do the goals of different individual vary, but decision makers face a series of obstacles in receiving accurate information, constructing accurate models of the world, and reaching decisions that further their own goals.

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3.3 Factors Shaping Foreign Policy Outcomes

3)   Domestic Politics – Bureaucracies

Foreign policy is shaped not only by the international dynamics of individual and group decision making but also the states and societies within which decision makers operate. The sub-state actors closest to the foreign policy process are the state's bureaucratic agencies maintained for developing and carrying out foreign policy. Different states maintain different foreign policy bureaucracies but share some common elements.

3)   Diplomats

Virtually all states maintain diplomatic corps, or Foreign Service, of diplomats working in embassies in foreign capitals and in consulates located in non capital of foreign cities, as well as diplomats who remain at home to help coordinate foreign policy. States appoint ambassadors as their official representatives to other states and to international organisations. Diplomatic activities are organized through a foreign ministry or the equivalent (for example, the Nigerian Ministry of Foreign Affairs). Diplomats provide much information that goes into making foreign policies, but their main role is to carry out rather that create policies.

3)   Interest Groups

Foreign policy makers operate not in a political vacuum but in the context of the Political debates in their society. In all states, societal pressures influence foreign policy, although these are aggregated and made effective through different channels in different societies. In pluralistic democracies, interested parties influence foreign policy through interest groups and political parties. In dictatorships, similar influences occur but less visibly. Thus foreign policies adopted by states generally reflect some kind of process of domestic coalition formation. But, international factors have strong effects on domestic politics.
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3)   Public Opinion

Public opinion has greater influence on foreign policy in democracy than in authoritarian governments. But even dictators pay attention to what citizens think. No government rules by force alone, every government needs legitimacy to survive. Government persuade people to accept its policies because in the end, policies are carried out by ordinary citizens-soldiers, workers and bureaucrats. In democracies, public opinion generally has less effect on foreign policy than on domestic policy. This is because national leaders traditionally have additional latitude to make decision in the international realm. This derives from the special need of states to act in a unified way to function effectively in the international systems as well as from the tradition of secrecy and diplomacy that remove international relation from the realm of ordinary domestic politics.

In addition to the factors listed above, the geography; the culture and the economy of a country shapes its foreign policy outcomes.

4.0 CONCLUSION

The attempt to explain foreign policy in a general and theoretical way has met only limited success. This is one reason why realists continue to find simple unitary-actor models of the state useful; the domestic and individual elements of the foreign policy process add much complexity and unpredictability. One area of foreign policy in which knowledge stands on somewhat firmer basis is the descriptive effort to understand how particular methods of foreign policy formation operate in various states, though such approaches belongs to the field of comparative politics.

5.0   SUMMARY
In this unit, you have learned hat foreign policy is a complex outcome of a complex process. It results from the struggle of competing themes, competing domestic interests and competing government agencies. No single individual, agency or guiding principle determines the outcome. We were also mentioned the factors that shape a state's foreign policy.

6.0 TUTOR MARKED ASSIGNMENTS (TMAS)

1. How should political leaders represent their constituent's views in foreign policy?
2. What do you belief is the most important factor that influence you states foreign policy?

7.0 REFERENCES/FURTHER READING

Adesola, Funso (2004). *International relations: an introductory text,* Ibadan: College Press and Publishers.

Goldstein, Joshua & Pevehouse, John (2008). *International Relations, Eight Edition* . New York: Pearson Longman.

Ojo, Olusola & Sesay, Amadu (2002). *Concepts in International Relations* Ile-Ife, Nigeria: Classy Prints & Company.

UNIT 3:   NATIONAL INTEREST

CONTENTS

1.0   Introduction
2.0   Objectives
3.0   Main Content
        3.1   Significance of National Interest
        3.2   Categories of States' Interest at the international system
4.0   Conclusion
5.0   Summary
6.0   Tutor Market Assignments (TMAS)
7.0   References/Further Readings

1.0   INTRODUCTION

There is no universally acceptable single definition of what constitutes the national interest of a state. This is because national interest means different things to different

people. Moreover there is the notion by some people that national interest is nothing more and nothing less than what policy makers of states adopts at any point in time.

However, it has been established that every state has a set of goals and objectives in its foreign policy, which the leaders aspire to achieve or promote at times in conflict with other members of the international community, within the international system; consequently the foreign policy of the states should reflect such identifiable objectives. In other words, national interests are policies directed towards the achievement of goals and objectives that would better the life of the citizen of the state.

2.0 OBJECTIVES
At the end of this unit, you should be able to:
- Define national interest
- Describe the importance of national interest to states
- Identify the various categories of national interest
- Assess the impact of national interest on foreign policy formulation
- Project the national interest of their countries

3.0 MAIN CONTENT

3.1 Significance of National Interest
Since a country faces a multitude of desirable goals with a corresponding scare, definite and limited resources, there is need for it to identify which of these goals are actually vital and needed for the country's survival, as distinct from others that are useful but even when forfeited will not jeopardise the national security. The total list of desirable and useful interests maintained by a nation is called the national interest (the essential goals).

Moreover, these needed goals must be rank ordered according to their degree of importance and the national resources allocated according to their effects. Not all national interests, however, would be pursued with the same vigour. The military forces and the defence policy as the highest instruments of a nation's foreign policy should be primarily designed to cater for the highest valued national interest, which is the preservation of the physical integrity of the country. National independence and the preservation of politico-cultural identity are the irreducible fixed obligations which nations do not willingly compromise.

The Foreign Policy of every country is thus at all times presumably designed to promote the national interest. But, what is national interest? And by what standards and by whom is it to be determined?

A volume published by the Brookings Institution makes a helpful distinction among national interest, objectives, policies and comments:

> "Interests are what a nation feels to be necessary to its security and well-
> being, objectives are interests sharpened to meet particular international

situations; <u>policies</u> are through-out ways of attaining objective, and <u>commitments</u> are specific undertakings in support of policy". Again "<u>National Interest</u> reflects the general and continuing ends for which a nation acts". (Palmer & Perkins 2007)

George F. Kennan said, "The national interest does not consist in abstractions" Indeed in most cases, as Charles Burton Marshall observed, "the question… is not whether, but how to serve the national interest. That involves the question of, what is the national interest in a particular situation".
.
However, the concept of national interest is a very useful one which policy makers should take note of. It helps to place foreign policy as well as domestic policy in the framework of national policy. National policy is the much needed anti-dote to political shortsightedness and partisanship. Fred H. Harrington said that "the concept of American national interest in the diplomatic field centers on economic forces, strategic patterns, and moral judgments reference to the proper role of the United States in world affairs. Despite, variations in meanings, national interest are the constants rather than the variables of internationals relations; it is likewise true that developments at home or abroad require a continual reassessment of these interests that include security, sovereignty, national value, etc.

In view of the heavy international commitments of every nation due to globalisation, and of the growing importance of foreign policy, the need for a correct appraisal of the national interest is a matter of particular urgency. Doubtless it will have to be related to a broader framework and it will be subject to more variables than ever before. Moreover, it will have little meaning unless it represents a widespread consensus and unless it is applied to specified policies. It is also well to remember that the national interest of states should involve not only the military security and the national economy but also a defense of national values, beliefs and cultures.

3.2. Categories of national interest

Every state, notwithstanding, the size, developed or developing, and even super-power or weak at one time or the other promotes a variety of objectives or goals at the international system. These activities by the states most of the times bring these states into conflict with one another in a bid by the actors to achieve their objectives at the detriments of others. These interests can be categorized into the following:

- Core or Vital interests
- Secondary or Variable interests
- Complimentary interest

These interests are briefly discussed below:

a) Core or Vital Interests:

Core or vital interests according to Hartman are essentially conservative. They always include things that a state already has, but a times it can include new sets of goals or objectives which the state may also want to pursue either in the short or long term.

(Core interest of every country includes national survival protection of the territorial integrity of the state and the lives of all its citizens against external aggression), as well as protection of its political, economic, religious or social institutions.

States most of the times are usually ready to go to war with others in defense of these objectives. This was the reason George W. Bush declared categorically in September 2001, that the bombing of World Trade Center, New York and other centre in Washington D. C. on September 11, 2001 was an act of war and that America had declared war on those who perpetrated the act. For instance, Nigeria went to war in 1967 with Biafra, to preserve the integrity of the nation.

Even in the present international politics, the protection of vital interests now includes the defence of the territorial integrity of other states, usually friendly states under threat, from the enemy states. Occasionally states pledges to defend the integrity of another state, usually a member of military alliance in which member pledges to regard an aggression on any member of the alliance as an aggression on all. This is usually referred to as "trigger clauses".

3) Secondary or variable Interests:
Unlike vital interest, secondary or variable interests are less stable or permanent as the name implies. They are much more dynamic and change much more frequently than core interest. It should be pointed out that sometimes secondary or variable interests could enhance or complement the achievement of vital interests or objectives.

The most easily identifiable secondary interests involve the protection of a states citizens living abroad. The task is usually given to the mission or embassy of the nation concerned. Missions for example, see to the repatriation of bodies of those who die in the host country, interceding between it's nationals and the host government especially when they get involved in court cases, after they had been sentenced, or merely paying their school fees.

During the height of the "aliens must go" campaign in Nigeria under the administration of Shehu Shagari, Ghana made ships available to take its expelled nationals home. At other times, Ghanaian and other embassies in Lagos issued travel documents to their nationals living in Nigeria to enable them go home.

3) General or Complimentary Interests"
Complimentary interests are sometimes referred to as "international interest. According to Thomas Robinson in (Ojo & Sesay 2002), these are usually interests which a state can apply to a large geographical area, to a large number of nations or in several specific fields" i.e. economics, trade disarmament, or eradication of the trade in hard drugs.

What is also true about general interests is that they are interest most of which cannot be achieved by any state acting alone. Furthermore, general interests are by their nature long term objectives. One of the reasons for this is that states need the

cooperation of other states for their actualization. In Africa for example; it was in the general interests of every African state to see that the rest of the continent is liberated from racists and minority regimes. Indeed at a point, many African states including Nigeria elevated that interest to a core goal.

It should be noted that the importance a state may attach on a particular interest at any time may shift, in much the same way as interest do shift from time to time. The shift in the interest of nations is due to the dynamic nature of the international system. For example, the increase in the number of state actors in the twentieth century brought with it corresponding and dramatic changes in some of the hitherto acceptable and more conservative interest of states. An example is the revision of the territorial waters limit that was hitherto three miles. For over a century, it was a vital interest of Britain to defend this limit, as were other states in the international system. However, today and mainly through the agitation of the third world countries, the territorial waters limit has been extended to between 200 and 250 miles.

Instruments for the promotion of National interests by every state are:
i. Diplomacy
ii. Propaganda and Political Warfare
iii. War
iv. Alliance formation and economic instruments

4.0   CONCLUSION:

There is a direct correlation between the power of a state and its interests. The interests of a state, like human beings, are virtually limitless. On the other hand, the resources available to both states and human beings are finite. This means that states have to order their interests hierarchically and try to achieve those that are uppermost in the hierarchy. Because there is opportunity cost in pursuing one interest instead of the other, states have to arrange their needs on a scale of preference. Resources are then allocated for their attainment accordingly. Normally, interests that are down the scale of preference are required to wait whiles the most pressing ones are given appropriate attention.

5.0   SUMMARY

The National interest is analytical tool and yardstick for measuring the success or failure of a country's foreign policy. Statesmen and analysts should therefore continue to use the National interest, no matter how vaguely defined to measure the success or failure of any foreign policy decision or action.

6.0   TUTOR MARKED ASSIGNMENTS (TMAS)
1. What do you understand by the concept "National Interest"?
2. Write short notes on: (a) "Core" or "Vital" Interests (b) "General or "Complimentary" Interests

7.0   REFERENCES/FURTHER READINGS

Ojo, Olusola and Sesay, Amadu (2002). *Concepts in International Relations* Ile-Ife, Nigeria: Classy Prints & Company.

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UNIT 4: THE CONCEPT OF POWER

CONTENTS

1.0   Introduction
2.0   Objectives
3.0   Main Body
     3.1   The complex Nature of Power (Characteristics)
     3.2   Element of National Power
     3.3   Balance of Power
4.0   Conclusion
5.0   Summary
6.0   Tutor Market Assignment (TMAs)
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1.0   INTRODUCTION

The state is the major actor at the center of International System States in pursuit of its self-defined national interest is the central dynamics of world politics. Each state's ability to achieve its goal is based in substantial part on a range of capabilities. They are particularly important when the goals of two or more states are in conflict, and the usual issue in world politics is whose interests prevail and whose do not.

Power is the sum total of a country's capabilities. Power can be based on positive persuasion as well as negative coercion. Indeed power is a multi-faced concept and has many forms, military muscle, wealth and some others that are fairly obvious tangible. Others such as "national will power" and diplomatic skills are much less obvious and intangible.

2.0   OBJECTIVES

At the successful completion of this unit, you should be able to:
- Explain the importance of power in state relations
- Describe the dynamic nature of power
- Highlight the complex nature of power

- Evaluate the different elements of power

3.0 MAIN CONTENT

3.1 The complex nature of power (characteristics)

Power is an elusive concept. Its multifaceted characteristics make it hard to be precisely described or measured. "Power is like weather. Everyone talks about it, but few understand it". Power has many characteristics, some of which seem almost contradictory. It is both an asset and a goal, hard and soft, absolute and relative, and a function of both capabilities and will. Moreover power is situational.

1. Power as an Asset and a Goal

Power is both an asset and a goal. Power as an asset can be applied to help countries achieve their goals at the international system. In this form, power is likened to money, as a sort of political currency that can be used to acquire things. Money buys things, power causes things to happen. However, there are differences between money and power, political power is less liquid than money, it is harder to convert into what you want, power unlike money has no standard measurement. Consequently, it is much harder to be precise about how much power any country has.

Power is also a goal. In a world of conflicting interests among countries, it is prudent to seek, acquire, or preserve sufficient power to pursue the national interests of states. In this regard, the analogy between power and money has merit. We all expand money as an asset, yet we also seek to acquire and to build up a reserve against both anticipated needs and contingencies.

The duality of power as an asset and goal creates debates over whether more power is always better. Idealists contents that countries can become fixated on acquiring power, especially military power beyond what is prudently needed to meet possible exigencies, arguing that, it is unwise because power is expensive and creates a temptation to use it, and it spawns insecurity in the international system. However, the realists dismisses the concern and say that the real danger is in unwise use of the national power by wasting it on marginal goals, warning against a country being too reluctant to expand it's power to advance its national interests.

2. Hard and Soft Power:

The most common image of power involves the ability to make someone to do something or suffer the consequences of someone else acts. This is called hard power, this type of power rests on negative incentives, such as threats and 'sticks' and on positive incentive – inducements and 'carrots'

There is also soft power. This is the ability to persuade others to follows your lead by being attractive example. As one scholar puts it, "A country may obtain the outcome it wants in the world system because, other countries admires its values, emulating its

example aspiring its level of prosperity and openness and would want to follow it (Rourke 2008: 236).

Hard power is easier to appreciate because it is easier to see that certain coercive measures or positive incentives have been used and to observe the result. Realists are however apt to dismiss the concept of soft power, arguing that countries follow other countries' lead if they share the same interest, not out of altruistic sentiments such as admiration.

3. Absolute and Relative Power

By one standard, power that indisputably exists and can be potentially used is absolute power. An example is the approximately 5,000 nuclear warheads and bombs that are deployed on about 1,000 U.S. missiles and bombers. These arsenals indisputably exist and will have specific impacts if used, and in theory can be used by a president without any legal check on ability to authorise their deployment.

However, power does not usually exist in a vacuum since power is about the ability to persuade or make another actor do or not do something. Calculating power is of limited use except to measure it against the power of the other side. Consequently, when assessing capabilities, relative power or the comparative power of national actors must be considered. We cannot, for example say that China is powerful unless we specify in comparison to whom. Whatever Beijing's power resources may be, China's relative power compared to another major power, such as Japan, is less than China's relative power compared to smaller neighbour, such as Vietnam.

4. Power as Capacity and Will

Every country's power is determined substantially by its power assets, its military and economic strength, its leadership, the size and talents of its populations, and numbers other factors. Together these make up a country's power capacity, its potential for exercising international power.

By themselves, substantial power assets are not enough to create a powerful global pressure. They give a country the capacity to exercise power, but to be effective, they must be supplemented by a will to power. This is a country's willingness to use its capacity to turn potential power into applied power.

5. Objective and Subjective Power

Just as a country's power is influenced by its willingness to use it's assets, so too it is influenced by what other countries perceive to be those assets and the intent to use them. Objective power consists of assets that a country possesses and is willing to use it. As such, objective power is a major factor in determining whose interests prevail at the international arena, as Iraq found out in 2003 in its war against the U.S.-led coalition forces.

Subjective power is also important. A common assertion is that a country will damage its reputation if it does not display unity, abandons a commitment, or backs down in

crisis. Because it is difficult to measure reputations, judging its impact is challenging. Some scholars conclude that concern over reputation is overdrawn but that does not negate the case that a country's power is to a degree based on others perception, for being willing or not willing to use it and that the perception that a country is not currently powerful can tempt another country. For example, Saddam Hussein's willingness in 1991 and 2003 to risk war with the US. was based in part on his perceptions that Americans would not tolerate the cost and causalities necessary to invade Iraq and topple him. As Saddam put it prior to the first war, "The nature of American Society makes it impossible for the United States to bear tens of thousands of casualties.

SELF-ASSESSMENT EXCERCISE

Itemize and explain the three basic elements of power discussed in this unit.

6. Situational Power

A country's power varies according to the situation or context in which it is being applied. A country's situational power is often less than the total inventory of its capabilities Military power is a goal example.

3.2 Elements of Power

Although it is common to think of national power in terms of military might and wealth, Those elements of power rests substantially on a more basic foundation The elements of that foundation include national geography, the quality of the population, the quality of the government, and the country's technological infrastructure. In this unit we will analyses these basic elements. However the focus is on the core elements which can be roughly, divided into three parts: National geography, people and government.

i. National Geography

Location can be advantage or a disadvantage to a country. Spain was able to avoid involvement in the two world wars partly because of its relative isolation from the rest of Europe. Poland, sandwiched between Germany and Russian, and Korea stuck between China and Japan, each has a distinctly unfortunate location. And the Kuwait probably would not mind moving either, provided, they could take their oil fields with them

Topography-a country's mountains, rivers and plains-is also important. The Alps form a barrier that has helped protect Switzerland from its larger European neighbours, spared the Swiss the ravages of both world wars. Throughout history, Afghanistan's rugged mountains had bedeviled invaders, including the United States. Since 2001 United States and other NATO troops have been trying to eliminate Al Qaeda and Taliban forces.

Size and climate is also important factors of power and play important power role. Bigger is often better. The immense expanse of Russia, for example has repeatedly saved it from conquest. The tropical climate of Vietnam, with its monsoon rains and its dense vegetation, made it difficult for the Americans to use much of their weaponry.

ii.   People – Population

A second core element to a nation's power is the country human resources. Tangible demographic sub-categories include number of people, age distribution, and such quantitative factors as health and education. There are also intangible population factors such as morale.

As is true for geographic size, the size of a country's population can be a positive or a negative factor. Because a large population supplies military personnel and industrial workers, sheer numbers of people are a positive power factor. It is unlikely, for instance, that Tonga with a population of 115,000 will ever achieve great-power status.

A large population may be disadvantageous, however, if it is not in balance with resources India with 1.1billion people, has the world's second largest population, yet because of the country's poverty ($720 per capital GNP), it must spend much of its energy and resources merely feeding its people.

iii.   Government

A third element of power and last in our discussion is the quality of the government. Administrative effectiveness is one aspect. It involves whether a state has a well-organized and effective administrative structure to utilize its power potential fully. For example, U.S. power has been undoubtedly undermined by problems in the country's intelligence agencies. Intelligence failure led to the expenditure of vast amounts of U.S. power in a war with and occupation of Iraq launched primarily to destroy weapons of mass destruction that in fact did not exist.

Leadership ability is a second aspect of government that adds or detracts from a country's power. Leadership is a mix of administrative, political and public relations skills. Like other intangible power assets, leadership capabilities are hard to measure, yet they clearly make a difference.

3.3   Balance of Power

In the anarchy of the international system the most reliable brake on the power of one state is the power of other states. 'The term balance of power' refers to the general concept of one or more states power being used to balance that of another state or group of states. Balance can refer to any ratio of power capabilities between states or alliances, or it can mean only a relative equal ratio. Alternatively, balance of power can refer to the processes by which counterbalancing coalitions have repeatedly formed in history to prevent one state from conquering an entire region.

The theory of balance of power argues that such counterbalancing occurs regularly and maintains the stability of the international system. The system is stable in that its rules and principles stay the same. State sovereignty does not collapse into a universal empire. The stability does not, however imply peace, it is rather a stability maintained by means of recurring wars that adjust power relations.

Alliances play a key role in balance of power. Building up one's own capabilities against a rival is a form of power balancing, but forming an alliance against a threatening state is often quicker, cheaper and more effective. During the Cold War, the United States encircled the Soviet Union with military and political alliances to prevent soviet territorial expansion.

4.0 CONCLUSION
National power is the sum of country capabilities to successfully implement its foreign policy, especially when those policies are opposed by other states or need the cooperation of other states. Measuring power assets is very difficult. The efforts to do so help us see many of the complexities of analyzing the characteristics of power. These characteristics include the fact that power is dynamic, objective and subjective, relative and situational, and a country's will to power expresses it's determination to apply power assets.

5.0 SUMMARY
State power is a mix of many ingredients, such as natural resources, industrial capacity moral legitimacy, military capabilities, population and popular support of government. All these elements contribute to an actor's power. The mix varies from country to another, but overall power relates to the rough qualities of the elements on which that power is based.

6.0 TUTOR MARKED ASSIGNMENT
Write short notes on: (a) Hard and Soft power (b) Objective and Subjective power

7.0 REFERENCES/FURTHER READINGS
Rourke, John T. (2008). International Politics on the World Stage
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MODULE 3: CHANGING NATURE OF INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM

Unit 1: Contemporary Features of the International System
Unit 2: International Law
Unit 3: Collective Security and Balance of Power
Unit 4: Globalization

UNIT 1: CONTEMPORARY FEATURES OF THE INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM

CONTENTS

1.0.   Introduction
2.0.   Objectives
3.0.   Main Body

1.0. INTRODUCTION

Here is an attempt to discuss the major dynamics, nature and patterns of the contemporary international system. In other words, this is to give a picture of what the international system is; what necessitated the discourse on the international system? What are the characteristics of the contemporary system?

2.0 OBJECTIVES

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- Explain real nature of the international system
- Evaluate the problems and goals of each continent of the system
- Distinguish international issues from domestic issues

3.0 MAIN CONTENT

3.1 The Features of the International System

There are about 200 states (precisely 184) in the international system at present. These states sprawling over the six continents in the globe, i.e., Africa, Europe, North America, South America, Australia and Asia are strictly regarded as members of the international system. For quite a long time, and relatively up till recent times, these states are the major actors or what may be termed "prime movers" or "key players" in the international system. These states (countries) are classified into North and South, Developed and Developing, Industrialized or Less Industrialized, Poor or Rich, etc., depending on their technological know-how, history, and resource endowment, among others.

As a result of the existence of many states, the international system is highly complex, vast and competitive. It is complex by virtue of the fact that nations like individuals are selfish and thus pursue their parochial interests in a fervid competition with one another. Goals of countries are variegated except for a few that are similar. How to manage these multifarious goals has become a Herculean task in view of the fact that these nations are so large with unique experiences and orientation. For instance, the positions of the Third World countries are, most times, at variance with that of the developed countries of First and Second World.

Each continent has its own problem, focus and preferences, and just like every individual, each nation has its own preference and goals and idiosyncrasies. The yearning and aspirations of the Asian countries is not at par with that of the American/Caribbean (South America), especially when it comes to particularities. Within Africa, the North African Arab countries do not consider themselves Africa

perse. This has lent credence to the conclusion that the international system is vast and complex.

As a result of its vastness and complexity, the international system is problematic, chaotic, and anarchical. This explains why there are series of international war; for instance, the Cambodia/Laos war, Britain/Argentina 1982 war, Eritrea/Ethiopia 1998/1999war or series of border clashes between Nigeria and Benin Republic, Mali and Burkina Faso and series of civil wars in Angola, Sierra Leone, Algeria, Liberia, Burundi, Rwanda, Chechnya, defunct Yugoslavia, etc., all of which the United Nations and/or respective regional organisations are grappling with.

The series of crises; political, economic, cultural, religious, etc., also lend credence to the conclusion that the international system is chaotic. For instance, the positions of the countries of the South are in conflict with those of the North, and vice versa. Even among developed countries, there is a bitter rivalry between and among the major economic powers like United States of America, Japan and Germany; not to talk of the serious rivalry for economic opportunities between France and Britain. In Africa, there is muscle flexing for continental leadership between Nigeria, Egypt and South Africa. Besides, there is also the issue of cultural contact and conflict between Europe and America on one hand and the rest of the developing world on the other hand. In fact, the nature and dynamics of conflict in different parts of Africa in particular could be divorced from the foregoing.

Another feature of the international system is that it is decentralized with no single source of authority. Although, international law exists, its observance merely rests on morality. Unfortunately however, some states violate international law when it is in their interest to do so. Suffice it to say that international law is not absolutely binding on states as there is no law-enforcer or international police that is capable of enforcing states' compliance. Although observance of international law has invaluable rewards to the nations that so respects it. Basically, small nations that constitute more than two third of the states in the international system cannot but just obey international law simply because they could not afford the luxury and clout that the big powers enjoy. Allusion could be made to the United States of America's invasion of Grenada, Haiti and Panama in this regard. If this is juxtaposed with the Iraqis invasion of Kuwait in 1991, one could say that the former was not condemned internationally as the latter.

Again, there is also the problem of distinguishing between international issues and purely domestic ones. The reasons are clear; issues that seem to be purely domestic usually have some international implications. For instance, the domestic economic problem of Nigeria prior to 1986 had an international implication, which eventually brought the International Monetary Fund/World Bank prescribed Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP). In like manner, the racial discrimination (Apartheid regime) in South Africa technically had international implications-leading to international and African condemnation and sanctions against the minority apartheid government. The civil war in and fratricidal crises in the Democratic Republic of

Congo, Burundi, Rwanda, Sierra Leone, Liberia, defunct Yugoslavia and Algeria called for international action.

The issues of human rights violation in domestic politics call for international action; this was evident during the despotic rules of Sani Abacha of Nigeria, Idi Amin of Uganda, Jean Bokassa of Central African Republic, etc. Ecological issues also transcend local or domestic jurisdiction of countries. The foregoing has been largely facilitated by the phenomenon of globalisation which is fast sweeping people and countries into what is termed "global village".

4.0.   CONCLUSION
Many of the above features and underlying factors of international system have not altered, but the international environment has changed and is still changing. The changes are as a result of the modifications in the state system., the vast technological development of the time, the increasingly role being played by non-Western societies, and the "revolution of rising expectations" which is affecting, directly or indirectly, the majority of the underprivileged people of the world.

That is the reason much of international relations is concerned with conflict, its management and resolution. Consequently, a functional international system requires a degree of integration and is most effective if it is guided by a supporting community structure.

5.0. SUMMARY
War has been a recurrent phenomenon in the international system throughout human history. In the twentieth century, in spite of the high hopes of the early years, it was just as frequent as and much more virulent than ever before. Even in the nuclear age, which has thus far at least avoided the ultimate catastrophe of total war, few years have seen free war in some parts of the world. However, fearful the prospect may be, "thinking about the unthinkable", to use the word of Herman Kahn, is absolutely necessary. Almost all conceivable methods of preventing World War 111, and limiting, if not preventing, lesser armed conflicts have been examined and have found ardent supporters.

6.0. TUTOR MARKED ASSIGNMENTS (TMAS)
  1. Explain why there are still series of international wars.
  2.   What are the problems of distinguishing international issues and domestic ones?

7.0. REFERENCES/FURTHER READING
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UNIT 2:   INTERNATIONAL LAW

CONTENTS

1.0 INTRODUCTION

The sources of international law are three in number; treaties and general principal of law. Thus, the statute of the International Court of Justice (Article 38) stipulates that the court shall apply international conventions, whether general or particular, establishing rules expressly recognised by the contesting states, international custom, as evidence of a general practice and accepted as law, and the general principles of law recognised by civilized nations.

2.0 OBJECTIVES
At the end of this unit, you should be able to:
- Explain the meaning and the sources of international law
- Explain the meaning of treaties, international customs and general principles of law;
- Highlight the implication of states signing or ratifying treaties
- Evaluate the place of judicial decision in the principle of international law.

3.0 MAIN CONTENT

3.1 International Conventions
A convention is an agreement creating binding obligations between subjects of international law. Other words, some of which also have other meanings, used synonymously with convention are treaty, protocol, accord, arrangement, understanding, compromise, regulation, provision, pact, charter, statute, act, covenant etc. The word "Convention" must not be confused with a constitutional convention.

Treaties have been the main instrument of conducting international relations. International cooperation has been carried out principally through these treaties. The trend towards written law is irreversible. It clears doubts and ensures a common understanding at least, among the parties. A treaty may supplement, modify or override ob1igations derived from customary law. Conventions have been proliferated as evidenced in the large number of treaties registered with the United Nations. They diminish the importance of customary law as a source of international law.

A contract treaty is one that merely regulates specific relationship between two or more states. For example, a loan agreement, a law making treaty lays down rules for a number of states. A contract treaty may be more readily terminated than a law making one, for example, by war or non performance by the other party. A constitutional treaty is one that creates an international organisation in which case, the treaty is also the constitution of the international organisation.

Although treaties normally bind only the parties, (pacta tertus nec nocent nec prosunt) yet they are the nearest to legislation in a partially organised society. A recurrence of a provision in treaties may create an international customary law to that effect. Thus, the rule pacta sunt servanda (a party cannot be a judge in his own case) associated with treaties is a customary rule of international law. The principles of treaty are now largely codified in the Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties 1969.

3.2 International Customary Law

The wording in the statute of the World Court "international custom, as evidence of general practice accepted as law" has been criticized for its clumsiness. It is in fact, the general practice of states that is accepted as custom under certain conditions.

Customs remained the most important source of international law until recently when the situation was changed by the large number of multilateral law making treaties. Customs may be gleaned from the practice of state as in press conferences, official statement, opinions of legal officers and acts of state, official instructions to diplomats, consuls, military commanders, of municipal courts and tribunals, and the practice of international institutions and tribunals. Care must be taken to separate political statements, rhetoric or mere promises.

For rules to become customs there must be a constant and uniform usage. In Lotus case Permanent Court of International Justice (PCIJ) (1927), the PCIJ found that state law were inconsistent, municipal decisions conflicted, text writers were divided, and consequently, no uniform trend was discernable to support the existence of a custom giving a flag state exclusive penal jurisdiction over ships in collisions at sea.

State must act under the impression that the action is obligatory in law. This is often expressed as *opinion jurissive necessitatis* or simply *opinion juris* for short. The ICJ stressed in the North Sea Continental shelf cases ICJ (1969: 3), that states must feel impelled by a legal obligation, not habitual action. Action necessitated by reasons of comity or courtesy is not custom, nor is a mere usage. Whereas usage may differ among states, custom must be consistent. No particular duration is required for a custom to materialize, although long period is an evidence of consistency and acceptance. The customary law on freedom of outer space flight and the right of littoral states to exploit their continental shelves arose recently.

Not all state need to be involved in custom formation, only a few states have conducted outer space flight and not all state have coastlines or ships. Resolution of international institution especially the Security Council and General Assembly, when acted upon, may become evidence of state practice and aid the development of international law. Custom may be general or particular, in case of the later, it must be proved although, a particular custom may be treated as general within a region.

There is a tendency to codify customs in special areas, e.g., law of and law of diplomatic immunities. The International Law Commission has the codification of law as major responsibilities. Codification has the advantage of clarifying doubts and minimizing disputes.

3.3 General Principles of Law as Recognised by Civilized Nations

The statute mentions general principles of law by civilized nations as the third source of international law. "It does not define civilized", the provision is reminiscent of exclusiveness of international law in the past to Christian nation and then to "civilized" nations. The word is now used to refer to the states of the international

community. Presumably, general principles will not include a theory of criminal punishment that supports the amputation of convicted criminals. They exclude barbarous relics of any religious or judicial system.

If there is a relevant treaty or custom, general principle does not apply. They are called in to fill a lacuna in the law so that the court is not incapacitated from giving a *judgment non liquate*. They constitute a reservoir of principles from which the courts, may draw in appropriate cases and further recognize the dynamic nature of international law and the creative function of the courts in administering it. This borrowing is not new but merely declaratory of existing practice of international courts. The early writers draw inspiration from the principles of Roman law. They embraced the principles of substantive, procedural and evidentiary law common to legal systems and which exist in both municipal and international laws.

The court is however, not obliged to admit a municipal doctrine if it thinks, it is inapplicable in court, as opposed to dissenting judgments, rarely makes reference to general principles. It does not require a principle to be manifested in every legal system, does not even call for evidence of its being widespread and does not indulge in a comparative study of systems.

In practice, it takes the general principles known to judges sitting. The number of legal systems considered is not as many as the number of states in the wor1d. This may be because of the penetration of European legal principles in other parts of the world. Thus, the same principles applicable in Britain may apply to Nigeria, Malawi, India, New Zealand and Canada, all of them, former British colonies and now members of the Commonwealth of Nations. The same applies to other former colonial powers and their former colonies.

In practice, every principle is considered on its merits and no state now accepts a principle merely because it was supported by another. The Soviets sometimes used general principles in the sense of the most fundamental principles of international law. For example, rule against aggression but this was unacceptable to others. To become law, the general principles must form part of treaty law or custom.

General principles are only applied if they were part of treaty or custom: Some examples of general principles are –pact *sunt servanda* (a party cannot be a judge in his own case), the doctrine of *litis pendens* (non retroactivity of criminal legislation) and the territoriality of crimes. The ICJ invoked consideration of humanity in the Corfu and Nicaragua cases in the South-West African case.

3.4 Judicial Decisions and Text Writers
Article 38 of the statute of the ICJ directs it to apply judicial decisions as subsidiary means of determination of the rules of law but subject to Article 59 which lays down that a decision of the court is binding only on the parties and in respect of that particular case.

The court has however treated these decisions with great respect and refers to them frequently. Although, only a subsidiary means of ascertaining the law, in some cases, they have proved to be the best of means. Repeated or frequently cited decisions increasingly become, not merely evidence, but in fact create the law and form part of international practice.

Decisions of arbitral tribunals are also respected and referred to by the International Court of Justice. The fact that arbitrators are more flexible and inclined to make a compromise does not reduce the importance of their judgment. The separate and dissenting judgments of judges have, at least, the authority of texts. In the execution of the judgment, ICJ is guaranteed by Article 94 of the UN Charter.

Text writers are subsidiary law, determining agencies. The importance attached to a text depends upon the prestige of the author and the extent his opinion withstands the test of time. Because of the impression of international law and the sparseness of its success in early times, the works of text writers were, if not the only, source of international law. Thus, writers like Grotius, Vatiel and Victoria exercised unrivalled influence on the law. They freely drew analogies from Roman law and Natural Law. After Grotius, text writers broke into Naturalists, positivists and Eclectics or Grotians. With the swing of the positivism in the 19th century, the influence of text writers waned to what it is now.

The statute refers to writers "of the various nations." This is because of the fact that some writers are influenced by national, racial or other subjective considerations. The justification of state action by some writers from those states sometimes makes sad reading when tested for objectivity after the lapse of time. Some writers have found it herculean task to rise above the national craze of the moment compelled by leaders with distorted world visions.

A comparison of some of the text writers from the East, West and non-aligned states confirm this statement. For a reasonable ascertainment, it is necessary to consult the three sides until universalism can instill in writers the courage to stand above governments in order to promote objectivity and the genuine interest of humanity as a whole. The work of text writers is still very important as a subsidiary source of international law if properly selected and assessed.

SELF-ASSESSMENT EXAMINATION:
Judicial Decisions is important source of international law. Discuss.

4.0 CONCLUSION
The question of law as fixed by treaty or convention is a fairly objective one, but even this presents at least two difficulties, one is the matter of interpretation, and the other is that of knowing just when a rule agreed to by some states, but not by all becomes international law.

Custom or customary law is often difficult to prove. The task here is to show that a particular rule has been accepted in practice by the community of states even though the various states have never reached an explicit understanding to that effect. The rule must be proved, if at all, by the presentation of evidence. Generally speaking, this evidence comes from judicial decisions, diplomatic correspondence, state papers, and the findings of research societies and private scholars.

5.0 SUMMARY
International conventions or treaties, customs, general principles of law as recognised by civilized nation, Judicial decisions and text writers are the main sources of international law, but Article 38 (2) of the International Court of Justices, state that the court shall apply whatever, the parties regarded as the bases of their actions.

6.0 TUTOR MARKED ASSIGNMENTS (TMAS)
1. Outline and discuss the four sources of international law.
2. Write short notes on:(i) Judicial Decisions (ii) Text Writers

7.0   REFERENCES/FURTHER READINGS
Hannikainen, L. (1998). *Peremptory Norms (Jus Cogens) in International*
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UNIT 3:   COLLECTIVE SECURITY AND BALANCE OF POWER

CONTENTS

1.0   INTRODUCTION

Since the two world wars, the concepts of collective security and balance of power has been persistently advocated and attacked, defended and criticized, it has featured prominently in the theoretical and ideological debates concerning the management of international relations. Moreover there has been recurrent movement towards and away from translating the concept into a working system. Although collective security appears simple and almost self explanatory, the concept is in reality a complex and elusive one. It has been defined by George Schwarnberger as "machinery for just joint action in order to prevent or counter any attack against an established international order". It clearly implies collective measure for dealing with threats to peace.

Balance of power on the other hand, has been used in so many different ways that it almost defies definition. Professor A. F. Pollard concluded that there were several thousand possible meanings of the concept, as analyzed word by word. The essential idea is simple; it is equilibrium of the type represented by a pair of scales. When the weight in the scale is equal, balance will result. Applied to a world of sovereign states, uncontrolled by effective super-national agencies, the concept of balance of power assures that through shifting alliances and countervailing pressures no one power or combination of powers will be allowed to grow so strong as to threaten security of the international system.

2.0   OBJECTIVES

The main objectives of this unit are to:
- examine the concepts of collective security and balance of power in maintaining peace & security
- highlight the contribution of the two concept in ensuring international security and

- highlight the limitations of collective security and balance of power as instruments of international relations.

3.0   MAIN CONTENT

3.1 Collective Security as a Method of Seeking World Security

Collective security approach is a different method for trying to achieve territorial security in the international system. This approach to preserving world peace and stability was introduced by American President Woodrow Wilson, following World War II. It calls for a system that combines the military power of peace loving states to create an overwhelming power base capable of deterring would be aggressors. In this sense, an attack on one state is considered an attack on all states – to be met with collective action.

The League of Nations was to be the first effort of this type. To the dismay of its advocates, the very countries that proposed it, including the United States, did not implement it. Japan invaded Manchuria in 1931 and China in 1937, Italy invaded Ethiopia in 1935 and Germany marched into Czechoslovakia and other European countries from the 1930s onward – all with impurity. When collective security strategy failed to prevent World War II, balance of power came back into vogue.

By the late 20th century, however, UN resolution's legitimizing the use of force in situation like the Persian Gulf War, coupled with its peacekeeping operations in Bosnia, exemplified a modified form of collective security that has reappeared on the world stage. The message may be that authoritarian governments, militaristic states, and dictators can no longer hide behind their country sovereignty to conduct acts that grossly violate human rights.

Collective Security is expanding from a strategy of stopping acts of aggression by one state against another to stopping such acts by country's leadership inside its sovereign territory. One of the big problems with collective Security however, is the unwillingness of countries to commit their troops to military action under the direction of foreign commanders. The United States is especially strong on this position. Thus, the former UN Secretary General Kofi Annan argued that the international community must reach a consensus on how to check systematic violations of human rights inside states, especially when one ethnic national group goes after another, as in former Yugoslavia and Rwanda.

Collective security can have a centralizing impact on regional politics as when the UN legitimized the use of force against Saddam Hussein's invasion of Kuwait and when NATO intervened in Bosnia to stop Serb-orchestrated ethic cleansing in the Mid-1990s. Yet collective security has its limitations.The limitations of collective security lie in bringing a coalition of countries together to address a shared regional issue. In the case of US led invasion of Iraq, many key members of the UN Security Council simply did not agree with US perceptions of the need for military action at the time. Since the US invasion and occupation of Iraq collective security has not worked well-

most visibly demonstrated in the bombing of the UN mission in Baghdad in August 2003.

3.2 Balance of Power in Multiple Forms

The balance of power theory emerged after the Peace of Westphalia in 1684 as a way of promoting security and stability in inter state relations. The golden age of balance of power began in the mid-seventeenth century and lasted until the World War I. The idea was that if one or more countries had sufficient power to balance the power of another country or alliance, then peace and stability would follow. The strategy checked power with power, if one alliance seemed to be gaining the edge of power, then an opposing alliance should increase its power and vice versa.

It should be pointed out however, that the balance of power did not work consistently well and had many breakdowns during the period. Balance of power tactics can be seen during the Cold War, when the United States and NATO face of against the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact. Although, many argue that it was not the balance of power that kept war from breaking out between the two alliances systems but rather the balance of terror associated with the fear of nuclear retaliation if one side attacked the other with a nuclear weapon.

Alliance: a coalition of state seeking to increase their power relative to other states, obviously play a big role in the balance of power politics. Alliances date back in history certainly to the time of warring Athens and Sparta. Alliances are typically formed to pool resources to offset the power of a perceived threatening state or coalition of states.

Balance of power can also be viewed as various structural models by which power is distributed in the following forms:

i. **A tight bipolar balance:** as during the late 1940s and early 1950s in the United States/NATO versus the USSR/Warsaw Pact face-off;

ii. **A loose bipolar balance:** roughly beginning in the mid 1950s as China moved away from the USSR and France fro NATO and the Third World countries began to organize in the neutral and Non Aligned Movement.

iii. **A beginning of multi-polar balance**: referring to the period of the 1970s and 19080s when North American and Western Europe grew apart economically, Japan and China became more independent and powerful, the Soviet Union remained intact, and the developing countries moved off in different directions.

iv. **Multiplicity:** as demonstrated in the breaking of the USSR, the rise of China and emergence of trade blocks like European Union and NAFTA, etc. In this configuration, multiple centers of various types was forming whether balance can occur in this configuring is still an open question.

v. **Unipolarity**; referring to the United States as the single dominant military power in the global system. In this system, U. S. power may be viewed as the ultimate guarantor of world stability through military policing – or as instigating global instability through U. S. – driven cultural imperialism and a protracted war against terrorism that can produce endless insecurity.

vi. **Loose multipolarity**: the international system is now described as being loosely organized not only the United States as a hegemon but other contending actors like Europe and China. While the United States continue unchallenged as the sole military power, emerging powers such as China are economic powers. Both with Europe and to a lesser extent, Russia, the international system is seen as revolving around these actors.

4.0 CONCLUSION
The term balance of power has a variety of meanings with regard to patterns of power. Balance of power may be seen in term of different distribution of power pattern within the international system such as bipolarity, multiplicity and uni-polarity. Collective security calls for the pooling of state power in one organisation like the UN. This power is used to deter or defeat any country that attacked another. Collective security has not worked well because states have been reluctant to place their military forces under UN authority and because of competing versions of national security interests.

5.0 SUMMARY
Although the United States currently is the sole super-power, power patterns in the international arena are constantly changing and shifting. Some observers see China as the world's next super power and believe that the European Union may one day check U. S. power economically. The war in Iraq has entangled the UN in a turbulent setting, where collective security has not operated well in its military meaning and has taken on new non-military challenges.

6.0 TUTOR MARKED ASSIGNMENT (TMAS)
1. Critically examine the contributions of balance of power in ensuring international stability
2. Criticize collective security as concept of ensuring internationals peace and security
3. What are the limitations to the practice of collective security

7.0 REFERENCES/FURTHER READINGS
Rourke, John (1997). *International Politics on the World Stage 6th edition*
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New York: Vintage.

UNIT 4:   GLOBALIZATION

CONTENTS

1.0 INTRODUCTION

Globalization is a force shaping power distribution in world politics today. It is important to note that globalization refers to expanded economic integration and interdependence of states through international free trade, market economies, investments and capital flows. World trade has grown astronomically and huge multinational corporations (MNCS) and economic organisations (International Monetary Fund, World Bank and World Trade Organisation) dominate global commerce.

These trend-linked with the spread of global fiber optic network, digitalization, satellite communications, the world wide web and computer technology-have impacted on state-to-state power relationship dramatically.

3.0 MAIN CONTENT

3.1 Globalization: Friend or Foe?

Looking at the entirety of world politics today, proponent of globalization sees the positive consequences on state-to-state power relationship. Thomas Freidman, in his book the Lexus and the Olive Tree (1999) views globalization as making old fashioned power politics obsolete, owing to the imperatives of global capitalism. In his view, globalization leads to democratic world, reduced poverty, higher standards of living in lesser developed countries, and thus less global conflict, more unity and expanded regional integration.

Other observers believe that globalization works negatively on power relationships. For one thing in many parts of the less developed world, globalization is viewed as yet another brand of western cultural imperialism. Competition has kept economic elites in power rather than generating wealth for everyone. Workers and the environment exploited.

In the recent outpouring of criticism of globalization John World Lewis Gadelis points out that 9/11/2001 attack on World Trade Center illustrates the dark side of globalization and interdependence, arguing that globalization has spawned deep grievances against the United States in particular as well as provided the power and means to attack it, as demonstrated in the use of civilian aircraft for suicide bombers.

Globalization and the information revolution and interdependence that have come with it, according to Nye, have created virtual communication and networks that

ignores national borders. This means that transnational corporations like multinational corporations and nongovernmental, non-state actors including terrorist and radical Islamic ideologies now play larger role in the international system.

Professor Stanley Hoffmann has also on his part, weighted in on the massive effects of a globalization on power in world politics. He stresses three forms of globalization, each with implications about power:

1. Economic globalization-which has recently been undergoing revolutions in technology, information, trade, foreign investments and international businesses
2. Cultural globalization – which has led to recent assaults against western culture and
3. Political globalization which is characterized by a domination by the United States and its political institutions.

Each negative consequences has produced implications for how power now takes new forms in an interdependent globalized world, and how states in a globalized world should mobilize power to combat terrorism. Older concepts of the balance of power and collective security have become inappropriate in this world of porous borders.

3.2 Factors accelerating globalization:
To some extent, globalization is ancient. It has been under way since the first isolated tribes and other groups of humans began to trade and otherwise interact with one another. But from another perspective, globalization is primarily modern phenomenon because the speed with which globalization has progressed has increased greatly during the last two centuries or so and even more extraordinarily since World War II. The modern acceleration of globalization is the products of two factors. Technological change and government policy (Rourke 2009).

3.2.1 Technological Developments
These have rapidity expanded the speed with which merchandise, money, people, information, and ideas move over long distances. Certainly, people, money, culture, and knowledge have flowered across political borders since ancient times. What is different though is the speed at which globalization is now proceeding.

More than 85% of histories significant technological advances have occurred since 1800, and the rate of discovery and invention has been accelerating during that time. Be it the internet, jet travel or some other advance, a great deal of this technological innovation is moving the world away from the national orientation that has dominated for several centuries towards a growing global connectedness.

3.2.2 Government Policies
This is a second factor that has promoted globalization, especially on the economic front. After World War I, countries increasingly tried to protect their economies from

foreign competition by instituting trade restriction in form of high tariffs and by impeding the face exchange of currencies. In hindsight, policy makers concluded that this approach had been disastrous. Much of Europe struggled economically during the 1920s then collapsed at the end of the decade.

Between 1929 and 1932 industrial production in Europe fell 50% and unemployment shot up to 22%. The U. S. stock market crashed in1929, and the American economy soon imploded, as did the economics of Japan and other countries. Global trade plummeted and the world sank into great Depression.

During the 1920s, fascist dictator Benito Mussolini seized power in down trodden Italy, and during the great Depression, Adolf Hilter and the other fascist dictators rose to power in Germany, Japan, Spain, and elsewhere. World War II soon followed exacting a horrific price on mankind. Many observes argued that the restrictive economic policies after World War I had created economic desperation that followed thereby allowing fascism to take hold, which in turn led to World War II. Based on their analysis of the causes of World War II, policy makers planning for the postwar period focused in part on preventing a reoccurrence of a global conflict.

On the economic front, the United States led the effort to create the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), a treaty and an organisation of the same name lately renamed the World Trade Organisation (WTO), in order to help eliminate the trade barriers that were blamed for World War II. Policy makers also established the International Monetary Fund (IMF). Such belief in and government support for globalization remains powerful factors today.

Other reasons to note is that the role of government in promoting globalization tends to undercut the argument expressed by former American President, Bill Clinton that globalization is not something we can hold off or turn off… is the economic equivalent of a force of nature like wind or water. Countries especially acting collectively can shape, restrain, or even reverse many aspect of globalization by increasing economic barrier, by restricting travel and interfering with transnational communication and by other policies designed to make national borders less permeable.

3.3   Evaluating Globalization
Globalization enjoys considerable popular support around the world, yet critics of the process are legion and more vehement than its supporters. There can be little doubt that the process has progressed rapidly due to innovations in information technology and transport The economic data is also clear. Measured by trade investment, monetary flow and every other standard, economic globalization have advanced quickly and far.

Cultural globalization is harder to measure, but anyone who has traveled internationally for several decades will attest to how much more common the use of English, western-style dress, fast food restaurants serving burgers and fries, and many

other aspects of a spreading common culture have become. Evaluating globalization qualitatively, deciding whether it is a positive or negative trend is very much more difficult.

4.0 CONCLUSION
Globalization is the process of the integration of communications and transportation, national economies, and human cultures across national boundaries. Though it is an ancient process, the process has speeded up considerably due to government policies that promote it and due to technological change. The world has become much more interdependent and interconnected through transportation and communication globalization, economic globalization and cultural globalization. This globalization has spurred transnationalism.

5.0   SUMMARY
Globalization refers to widened economic integration and interdependence among the world's states by way of international free trade, market economies, investments and capital flows. Huge Multinational Corporations (MNCS) and global economic organisations like International Monetary Fund (IMF), World Bank (WB) and World Trade Organisation (WTO) had come to dominate global commerce as world trade expands. Globalization is also produced by the spread of global fibber optic networks, digitalization, the World Wide Web and computer technology.

6.0   TUTOR MARKED ASSIGNMENT (TMAS)
1. What do you understand by the term "globalization?"
2. Discuss the major factors responsible for the acceleration of globalization.
3. Evaluate the impact of globalization on the present international system.

7.0   References/Further readings
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Module 4: The Evolution of International/Regional Organisations

Unit 1: International Organisation
Unit 2: The United Nations
Unit 3: Regionalism and Regional Arrangements
Unit 4: The European Union

UNIT 1:   INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATION

CONTENTS

1.0   INTRODUCTION

One of the promising developments starting from the twentieth century in interstate relations has been the proliferation of international organisation. For the first time in history, permanent organisation of a nearly universal type emerged. Although the word permanent may seem hardly justified, for the League of Nations lasted for only about a quarter of a century with an effective period of barely fifteen years, and the future of the United Nations after all these years of active existence is still very uncertain.

In addition to today's general international organisation-the United Nation-are many lesser ones, some of such which are specialized agencies, Regional Organisations of a general character, as the Organisation of American States and North Atlantic Treaty Organisation, and some more specialized in function as the Organisation for

Economic Cooperation and Development and the South Pacific Commission are numerous and active.

In addition to these scores of public international organisations, concerned with almost every conceivable aspect of international relations, hundreds of private international organisations otherwise called nongovernmental organisations, such as International Red Cross or Rotary International or the International Chamber of Commerce, play useful although less publicized roles.

2.0   OBJECTIVES
At the end of this unit, you should be able to:
- Identify the main roles of international organisation
- Evaluate the success/failures of these organisations in attaining their objectives
- Assess the relevance of the activities of these organisations to interstate relations.

3.0 MAIN CONTENT

3.1   The Origin of Modern International Organisation
The modern pattern of international organisation has been evolving ever since the nation-state system emerged several centuries ago, and especially since the Congress of Westphalia of 1648.

The term "International Organisation is defined as "any cooperative arrangement instituted among states, usually by a basic agreement, to perform some mutually advantageous functions implemented through periodic meetings and staff activities". In this well-developed sense, few examples of international organisations can be found until the modern period.

Long before the golden age of Ancient Greece, inter-state relations of a sort existed in many parts of the known world, including China, India, Mesopotamia, and Egypt. Contracts between rulers and kingdoms were not uncommon, and there was a fair area of agreement on diplomatic practices, commercial relations, treaties of alliance, and codes of warfare and terms of peace. The treaties of the past are the first steps towards International Organisations.

Although local loyalties prevented the Greeks from achieving true national unity, the procedures and patterns in use among their city-states, as well as their theories of interstate relations appear strikingly modern. In some ways Ancient Greece seems much like the modern world in miniature. Treaties, alliances, diplomatic practices and services, arbitration and other methods of peaceful settlement of disputes, rules of war and peace, leagues and confederation, and other means of regulating interstate relations were well known and widely used.

The Roman contribution to international organisation was of a different sort. After the final defeat of Carthage and the conquest of the entire Mediterranean world and most of Western and Central Europe, Rome established a kind of universal empire, the inclusiveness of this empire and its remoteness from other centers of power such as China and India, precluded interstate relations.

The idea of international organisation was therefore foreign to Romans. Nevertheless, the Romans contributed legal, military, and administrative techniques, and they established the basis of the *Jus gentium* which became a fertile source of international law.

The Congress of Westphalia was a notable milestone in the development of modern international organisation, as it was in the evolution of the modern state system. The significance of this great congress has been discussed in earlier units of this course.

During the dynastic and colonial struggles of the eighteenth century, alliances, coalitions, diplomacy, wars, conferences and peace settlement became commonplace techniques of international relations. The conference system, which has been perhaps the most conspicuous feature of modern international organisation, was developed to a high degree in seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Some of the best-known early plans and proposals for peaceful relations and for international organisation were advanced.

A permanent general international organisation (League of Nations) of a nearly universal character came into existence for the first time after world War I. This development marked another stage in the history of international organisation. The new era owed much to the experience and experiments, including the many abortive plans and projects of the past. "Modern international organisation" started with its wide array of institutions, evolved from the conferences of the preceding centuries. In the new world of the twentieth century, the older techniques were not adequate, but they did provide the foundations upon which the present complex structure of international organisation has been built.

3.2   Roles of International Organisations

Most international conflicts are not settled by military force. Despite the anarchic nature of the international system, based on state sovereignty, the security dilemma does not usually lead to a break down in basic cooperation among states. State generally restrain from taking maximum short-term advantage of each other such as invading and conquering. States work with other states for mutual gain and take advantage of each other only at the margin and international organisation provides the platform for this mutual relationship.

State work together by following rules they develop to govern their interactions. Overtime the rules become more firmly established and institutions grow around them. States then developed the habit of working through those institutions and within the rules. They do so because of self interest. Great gains can be realized by regulating

international interactions through institutions and rules, thereby avoiding the costly outcomes associated with a breakdown of cooperation. The rules that govern most interaction in the international system are rooted in norms. International norms are the expectations actors hold about normal international relations. The invasion of Kuwait by Iraq not only was illegal, but was widely viewed as immoral beyond the acceptable range of behaviour of states. Political leaders in the United States and around the world drew on moral norms to generate support for a collective response to Iraq.

Some norms, such as sovereignty and respect for treaties, are widely held, they shape expectations about state behaviour and set standards that make deviations stand out. Constructive scholars in international relations emphasize the importance of these global norms and standards. In the 19th century, such ideas were embodied in the practical organisations in which states participated to manage specific issues such as international postal service.

In times of change when shared norms and habits may not suffice to solve international dilemmas and achieve mutual cooperation, institutions play a key role. They are concrete, tangible structures with specific functions and missions. These institutions have proliferated rapidly in recent years, and continue to play an increasing role in the inter-state relations. International organisation (10s) includes intergovernmental (IGO) such as the United Nations (UN), and non-governmental organisation such as the International Committee of the Red Cross.

Global intergovernmental organisation (aside from the UN) usually, has functional purposes involving coordinating action of some set of states around the world. Nongovernmental organisations tend to be more specialized in function than intergovernmental organisations. For example, someone wanting to meet Political Scientists from other countries can join the International Political Science Association.

Many NGOs have economic or business related functions. The International Air Transport Association coordinates the work of airline companies. Other NGOS have global political purposes, for example, Amnesty International for Human Rights and Planned Parenthood for Reproductive Rights and Family Planning. Still other have cultural purposes for, example, the International Olympic Committee.

Religious groups are among the large NGOs, their membership span many countries both in today's world and historically, sects of Christianity, Islam, Buddhism, Judaism, Hinduism, and other world religious have organized themselves across state borders, often in the face of hostility from one or more national governments. Missionaries have deliberately built and nurtured these transnational links. The Catholic Church historically, held a special position in European International system, especially before the 17th century.

Nongovernmental organisations with broad purposes and geographical scope often maintain observers and status in the UN, so that they can participate in UN meetings

on issues of concern. For example, Greenpeace attends UN meetings about global environment.

4.0 CONCLUSION

The intellectual roots of international organisations extend back into history and include the early global concept of a common humanity. One stream of this view focused on establishing intergovernmental organisation is to promote peace. However, the first intergovernmental organisation with nearly a universal character was the League of Nations, which was formed, immediately after the First World War

Today there are nearly 300 intergovernmental organisations (IGOs), and they perform a wide variety of functions. It has been pointed out that, membership of those organisations ranges from near universal to only a few countries and the functions of intergovernmental organisations range from the UN's broad range of missions to the single purpose of the international cassava organisation.

5.0 SUMMARY

A web of international organisations of various sizes and types now connects people in all countries. The rapid growth of this network, and the increasingly intense communications and the interactions that occur within it, indicate rising international interdependence.

These organisations in turn provide the institutional mesh to hold together some kind of world order even when leaders and contexts come and go, and even when norms are undermined by sudden changes in power relations. At the center of that web of connection stands the most important international organisation today, the United Nations.

6.0 TUTORS MARKED ASSIGNMENTS (TMAS)
1. Give a brief history of the development of modern international organisation.
2. Give a detailed function of intergovernmental organisation as studied in this unit.
3. Discuss the main functions of the major non-governmental organisation you studied in this unit.

7.0 REFERENCES/FURTHER READINGS

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UNIT 2: THE UNITED NATIONS

CONTENTS

1.0   INTRODUCTION

At the beginning of the 20th century, many world leaders sought to create a cooperative community of countries that would ensure the collective security of its members. The idea behind collective security organisation is that they enhance the chances for maintaining peace because an aggressive act against any member would be met with a collective response. In short an attack against one is an attack against all. The notion of collective security, combined with the harsh lessons of World War I led U. S. President Woodrow Wilson to propose the formation of the League of Nations in 1918. Consequently, the Main Mission of both the League of Nations and United Nation is maintaining international peace and security.

Despite the League's inability to prevent World War II, many political leaders did not conclude that intergovernmental organisations were useless in preventing war. On the contrary, with the nuclear age upon them, they saw even more clearly the need for international cooperation. This helps to explain why the idea of a global security organisation survived and thrived amidst the ashes of World War II.

The United Nations emerged from those ashes, and it is best known for its role in maintaining international peace and security Article of the UN charter, however described an intergovernmental organisation that goes much further than a mere security organisation.

According to its Charter, the UN seeks to develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self determination of people. It seeks international cooperation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural, and humanitarian character and in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all.

2.0   OBJECTIVES

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:
- Describe the circumstances that led to the formation of United Nations
- Explain the structure and functions of the UN

- Assess the role of the Security Council in Peace keeping

3.0 MAIN CONTENT

3.1 The History / Activities of the United Nations

The United Nations (UN) was founded in 1945 in San Francisco by 51 States. It was a successor to the League of Nations, which failed to effectively counter aggression that led to the 2nd World War. Like the League of Nations, the United Nations was founded to maintain international order and the rule law to prevent another world war. In 1950s and 1960s, the UN membership more than doubled double as colonies in Asia and Africa won independence. This expansion changed the character of the General Assembly, in which each state has one vote regardless of size.

Throughout the Cold War, the UN had few successes in the international security because the United States/Soviet Union conflict prevented consensus. The UN appeared somewhat irrelevant in a world order structures by opposing alliance bloc. A few notable exceptions exist, such as defending South Korea during the Korean War and agreeing to station peacekeeping forces in the Middle East, but the UN did not play central role in solving international conflicts. The General Assembly, with its predominantly third world membership, concentrated on the economic and social problems of poor countries, and these became the main work of the UN.

After the Cold War, the great powers could finally agree on measures regarding international security. In this context, the UN moved to the center stage in international security affairs. The UN had several major successes in the late 1980s in ending violent regional conflicts.

By the 1990s, the UN had emerged as the worlds most important tool for settling international conflicts Between 1987 and 1993, Security Council resolutions increased from 15 to 78, peace keeping missions from 5 to 7, peacekeepers from 12,000 to 78,000 and countries sending troops from 26 to 76 (Goodstein & Pevehouse 2008). The 2003 Iraq war however triggered serious divisions among the great powers that sidelined the UN. A U.S./British coalition toppled the Iraq government without explicit UN backing. The former Secretary General – Kofi Annan later called UN war illegal. The UN sent a team to Iraq to help with the reconstruction, but suicide truck-bombers destroyed it killing chief of the mission and dozens of others. Thus the UN withdrew its staff in Iraq in 2003 and found itself largely sidelined in the world's most prominent international conflict.

Currently, the UN follows a principle of "Three Pillars" – security, economic development and human rights – which are considered mutually necessary for many others to succeed. In a post war conflict situation, in particular, the security economic and human rights situations reinforce each other.

The UN is in some ways just beginning to work as it was originally intended to, through a concert of great powers and universal recognition of the charter. However as states turned increasingly to the

UN after the cold war, its modest size and resources became overburdened leading to contraction of missions and funding. Today, the UN is more important than ever, yet, still in danger of failing. In the coming few years the UN must continue to grapple with the challenges of it's evolving in a unipolar world, the limitation of its budget, and the strength of state sovereignty.

3.2   Structure of the United Nations

The United Nations structure centers on the General Assembly. The General Assembly coordinates a variety of development programme and other autonomous agencies through the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC). Parallel to the General Assembly is the UN Security Council which is made up of five great powers and ten rotating members that make decisions about international peace and security. The Security Council dispatches peacekeeping forces to trouble spots. The administration of the body takes place through the UN Secretariat, led by the Secretary General of the organisation. The world court (International Court of Justice) is the judicial arm of the UN.

A major strength of the UN structure is the universality of its membership. The UN had 192 members in 2008 (Goldstein & Pevehouse, 2008). Virtually every territory in the world is either a UN member or formerly a province or colony of a UN member. Switzerland, which traditionally maintains strict neutrality in the international system, joined only in 2003. Formal agreement on the charter, commits all states to a set of basic rules governing their relations. The old League of Nations, by contrast, was flawed by the absence of several important actors.

One way the UN induced all great powers to join was to assure them that their participation in the organisation would not harm their national interests. Recognizing the role of power in world order, the UN charter gave five great powers each a veto over substantive decisions of the Security Council.

The UN Charter established a mechanism for collective security – the binding together of the world's states to stop an aggressor Chapter v of the charter explicitly authorizes the Security Council to use military force against aggression if nonviolent means called for in chapter vi fails. Under chapter vii of the charter, the UN authorized the use of force to reverse Iraqi aggression against Kuwait in 1990.

However, because of the great-power veto, the UN cannot effectively stop aggression by a great power nation or nations having a great power backing. As often happens with the dominance principle, this structure creates resentments by smaller powers. In 2006, Iran's president asked the General Assembly "if the government of the United States or the United Kingdom commit atrocities or violate international law, which of the organisations of the United Nations can take them to account? (None of them, of course is the answer). Chapter vii was used only once during the Cold War-in the Korean war when the Soviet delegation unwisely boycotted the proceedings and when China's seat was held by the Taiwan.

SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE
What and the basic structures of the UN?

4.0 CONCLUSION
While one must admit that the United Nations has failed to resolve definitively a single dispute brought before it, this is not to say that it has not relieved tensions in many crucial situations. That it has failed to achieve any of the three major objectives of the security provisions admits less qualification. It must be pointed out that only few international disputes are really settled, but they may be compromised, postponed or otherwise prevented from leading to serious international crises, and with the passage of time may loose much of their explosive character. The UN has played a useful in diffusing disputes that might otherwise lead to international explosions.

5.0 SUMMARY
The universal membership of the United Nations is one of its strengths. All member states have a voice and a vote in the General Assembly where state leaders rotate through each autumn. Although the United Nations does not have many striking success to its credit in handling of international disputes, its services as a mediator have been very valuable in several instances.

6.0   TUTOR MARKED ASSIGNMENTS (TMAS)
1. Appraise the activities of the UN since inception in 1945
2. What led to the failure of the League of Nations?
3. Explain the major problems facing the Security Council in maintenance of international peace and security.

7.0 REFERENCES/FURTHER READINGS
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Unit 3:   Regionalism and Regional Arrangement

Contents

1.0   INTRODUCTION

The trend towards regionalism and regional arrangements is one of the most interesting developments in the present international system. The Charter of the United Nations specifically recognised it. This trend is in part, an out come of the necessity of pooling national resources for protection in a divided and war-threatened world, but it is also an outgrowth of other pressure which is driving nations together in the present era. Indeed, it may indicate that the nation state system, which has been the dominant pattern of international relations for centuries, is evolving toward system in which regional grouping of states will be more important than the independent sovereign units.

2.0 OBJECTIVES
- Define regionalism
- Highlight the importance of Regional Arrangements in maintaining world peace and development
- Highlight the contributions of Regional Arrangements to UN development.

3.0   MAIN CONTENT

3.1   Regionalism Defined.
As a result of the frequent use of regions to mean areas smaller than states, it is important to emphasize that in international system a region is invariably an area embracing the territories of three or more states. These states are bound together by ties of common interests as well as geography. They are not necessarily contiguous or even in the same continent.

At the San Francisco conference in 1945, the Egyptian delegation introduced an amendment to the draft text of the United Nations Charter to limit the term regional arrangements by definition to organisations of a permanent nature or grouping in a given geographical areas, several countries, which by any reason of their proximity, community of interest or cultural, linguistic, historical, or spiritual affinities, make themselves jointly responsible for the peaceful settlement of any disputes which may arise between them and for maintenance of peace and security in their region as well for the safeguarding of their interests and the development of their economic and cultural relations.

Dr. E. N. Vankleffens, formulated this definition, "…a regional arrangement or pact is a voluntary association of sovereign states within a certain area or having common interests in that area for a joint purpose which should not be an offensive nature, in relation to that area. This definition requires one qualification. The term arrangement and 'pact' should be used synonymously. Although a 'pact' is the usual means of bringing an arrangement into being, pact is a looser and general term, it may relate to an understanding on a single, comparatively simple matter, requiring no administrative machinery of any kind. A regional arrangement on the other hand, cannot exist without fairly elaborate organisation.

To point out that writers do not agree on a definition would simply be saying that regional arrangement has not yet become a technical term. Such an arrangement must involve sovereign states, certainly more than two, and they must be engaged in a substantial common enterprise. Agreement is lacking on the geographical implications if any of any international region and on the degree of collaboration necessary to qualify as a regional arrangements. This in-exactness in definition means that students of international relations may disagree on whether a true regional arrangement exists in a particular instance.

A regional arrangement may be primarily a military alliance, but it must be more than that in order to provide for collaboration in other respects and it need not involve military matters at all. The North Atlantic Treaty Organisation for example is a military alliance, but it also has many other interests and purposes.

3.2 The United Nations and Regional Arrangements

Regional arrangements were given more positive and detailed endorsement in the Charter of the United Nations than in the Covenant of the League of Nations. Woodrow Wilson viewed with suspicion the idea of regional arrangements and alliances and the founders of the League feared that they would open the way for alliances and a return to the balance of power system, which would in the long run be in substantial opposition to the League concept of collective security on a global basis.

In its final form, the United Nations Charter devoted an entire chapter (Chapter viii) Articles 52-54) to the subject of regional arrangements. In addition article 33 provided for 'resort to regional agencies and arrangements" among the recommended procedures for the pacific settlement of disputes. As stated in Article 53, the authorization of the Security Council is not required before an action is taken against an enemy state. An even more important exception is provided for in article 51, which opens the way for a great variety of regional security arrangements outside the effective control of the United Nations.

The Charter does not attempt to define regional arrangement or agencies; it leaves the whole question of their character and purpose, and of their exact relations with the United Nations, very much up in the air. What it does have to say on regional arrangements is confined to the field of security. It is silent on the possible economic, social and other potentialities of such groupings. Yet within the UN itself as well as outside, the regional principle has been applied in these broad fields; for instance in the regional commissions of the United Nations.

Proponents of regional security arrangement naturally insist that these devices are wholly consistent with the United Nations Charter and are necessary steps in regional or collective self-defense. The charter specifically recognised the right of nations to take action of this sort until and unless the United Nations action is able to assert itself effectively in the maintenance of peace. While these arrangements can be readily defended there is a real danger that they will deteriorate into military alliances against some country or countries, that they will provoke counter-measures-that they will in

short, increase international tension and thereby accentuate the very evils they presumably designed to prevent.

As Trygiv Lie pointed out in 1948, regional arrangement can be very useful elements in building United Nations systems of collective security provided they recognize the supremacy of the charter. Article 103 of charter states it clearly, "In the event of a conflict between the obligation of the members of the United Nations under the present charter and their obligations under any other international agreement, their obligations under the charter shall prevail. Lie further argued that measure of collective self-defense and regional remedies of other kinds are at best interim measures, and cannot bring any reliable security from the prospect of war. Regional arrangements, in other words have are truly a part of a larger pattern, centering on the United Nations-the one common under-taken and universal instrument of the great majority of the human race. Yet the balance between regionalism and universalism as illustrated by the relative role and effectiveness of regional arrangements and the United Nations, especially in the security field, seems to be clearly tilted in favour of the regional approach.

SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE
Explain in your own words what you understand by regional arrangement.

3.3 The Importance of Regionalism in International Arena
The trend toward international regionalism is now an acknowledged feature of the international system. It has achieved a new meaning and a new significance while it has not in real sense breached the barrier of the sovereign state system. It has also provided the impetus and the machinery for much closer cooperation of states at the regional level.

The exact nature of international regionalism is by no mean clear. The same comment could be made of its significance and place in the present international society and even more particularly of the future. As Furnish, Jr. pointed out; there is a great need to rethink on the concept of regionalism. It is important to explore its relations to the prevailing nation state pattern, to looser arrangement through treaties, trade relations, alliances etc to proposed unions and federations on a regional or broader level, to larger associations of states such as the Commonwealth of Nations and to universal organisation, notably the United Nations at the present time, but embracing also any other nearly universal associations which are now in existence or which may come into being in the future.

If international regionalism is properly developed and is closely integrated into a more universal framework such as provided by the United Nations, it can fill a real gap in the existing pattern of international society. But if wrongly used it will become nothing more than a commonplace and a poor one at that, for military alliances, blocs and orbits and therefore will exercise a disturbing and destructive influence on international relations.

The multiplication of regional arrangements is already giving rise to problems of coordination and to apprehensions about the possibility of conflicting obligations. But while problems of coordination are obviously great, such obligations should be complimentary and not conflicting. Indeed it could be argued that the more regional arrangement a given state enters, the more secure is that state and the brighter are the prospects for peaceful international collaborations.

4.0 CONCLUSION
It is established fact that if a state belongs to many different systems it will be by that very fact restrained in its warlike inclinations by the very weight of each of the groups to which it belongs, and on the other hand will help neutralize the warlike inclinations of its partners by the care which it will take to safeguard its own association.

Moreover, the experience and perspective gained in many cooperative endeavors on the regional level should contribute greatly not only to the successful functioning of regional arrangements but also to the development of that international climate of opinion without which all efforts at international cooperation are doomed to failure.

5.0 SUMMARY
The co-existence of regional arrangements with a nearly universal world organisation is a fact of contemporary international system. Both meet a real need in the area of inter-state cooperation. Certainly there is ample room for both-types of political order-building on the international scene.

6.0   TUTOR MARKED ASSIGNMENTS (TMAS)
   1. Give a critical appraisal of the role of regional arrangements on the international relations
   2. How relevant are regional organisation in the promotion of world peace?

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UNIT 4: THE EUROPEAN UNION

CONTENTS

1.0   INTRODUCTION

The European Union is the most highly developed regional bloc in the world. No other trade bloc has a common parliament, few have a common external tariff, and none is seriously contemplating a common currency or common defence po1icies. The highly integrated nature of the European Union, and its supranational characteristics, has made it to be described as having deep regionalism. By-contrast, the vast majority of the world's regional international organisations are much more intergovernmental in nature.

2.0   OBJECTIVES

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:
- Explain the activities of European Union
- Highlight the implications of the emergence of the EU
- Identify the expansion trends in the European Union

3.0 MAIN CONTENT

3.1 The Origin of the European Union
After centuries of warfare between empires and states, the European countries agreed to create the most comprehensive set of international institutions of all time. There are five main reasons why countries with a historical background of rivalry and war chose to work together. The first three reasons are primarily economic; the others are more political and military in nature.

First, European cooperation began in the late 1940s with the need to re-build war torn economies. Many European countries realized that going it alone would not be sufficient to transform their struggling economies. Assistance from the U.S. Marshal Plan was helpful in this regard. Second, a lesson from the Great Depression World War II was that when states create significant barriers to trade, economic conditions worsen and international relations become tenser. Thus, the Europeans sought to lower internal trade barriers and enhance economic competition.

Third, the six founding members of the European Union State as well as the states that joined later, recognised the benefits of economies of scale, that is, they saw the advantages of combining their resources in order to become more competitive internationally. Recently, this issue has become particularly important in the context of competition with the United States, Japan, and the Newly Industrializing Countries (NICs) of Asia.

Fourth, a more cohesive Western Europe was viewed as being better able to prevent the spreading of communism, which was threatening on two fronts. In the 1950s, Western Europe was concerned about an invasion by the Soviet Union and its allies. In addition, communists' parties had made strong in roads in the domestic politics of some European countries, notably, France and Italy. During the World War II the French and Italian communists underground has fought heroically against the Nazis and the post war electorate rewarded them with many votes.

Fifth, in the immediate post - World War II, period, many feared a resurgent Germany, the country that has been fully or partially responsible for three major wars in Europe in two generations (1870 – 1945). By integrating Germany economically and military into the European Union, it was hoped that German militarism would be tamed and World War III would be less likely to occur.

3.2 The Expansion of the European Union
The expansion of European Union which started in 2004 is viewed with a mixture of admiration and hesitation by the international community. If one plots the trend of political and economic integration in European Union history, one will get the impression that, there would soon be a United States of Europe (U.S.E). Since it's founding in the 1950s, the EU has integrated more and more, as increasing number of

policies are within the EU's jurisdiction, including monetary policy, and others, such as common foreign and security policies are being addressed more forcefully. In addition, EU decision making is occurring more often at supranational level with more power granted to European Parliament and greater use of qualified majority voting in the council. These centralizing developments of greater policy coordination and supranationalism are known in EU circle as deepening.

3.4 The Implications of the Emergence of EU

One of the most striking features of developments in international system is the emergence of the EU as a block actor in multilateral technical diplomacy. While the 1991 Maastricht Treaty set out in the Title v of the Treaty provisions for a common foreign and security policy, it is within the field of technical diplomacy rather than traditional foreign policy that the EU has increasingly acted au communitaire on the basis of the treaty of Rome, Single European Act and decisions of the European Court of Justice, within areas of community competence. These areas include the common fisheries policy, transport and some international trade and environmental policy.

In areas where the community has competence, member-states are represented by the commission in international negotiations. In certain residual policy area, for example some international trade policy in the Uruguay Round framework, there is mixed or joint competence. Difficulties have arisen over definition of what matters fall within community competence between member states and the commission, in areas such as trade policy including restrictions on exports, civil aviation and immigration. In civil aviation sector, for example, disputes have occurred over bilateral air transport agreements under negotiation or concluded by non-community members with individual community members e.g. US-UK, US – Finland, Austria, Sweden. The commission opposed bilateral agreements and sought a mandate from EU Transport Ministers to negotiate air transport agreements on a bloc basis.

The implications of community competence in technical diplomacy are numerous. First the negotiation on a bloc common line or position generally involves a lengthy, clearing process before daily sessions of a multilateral conference or meetings of an international or regional institution. Similarly, consultations may be undertaken intersession ally. Thus, the balance of EU diplomatic effort tends to be shifted to intra-bloc negotiations. The cleared position is invariably on a lowest common denominator basis.

In the second place, representation by the Commission in effect reduces the negotiating capacity of individual members-state and potential effectiveness, in that negotiation is not conducted by a professional diplomatic service. Thirdly, in areas of community competence member-states cannot take part in plenary or other debates of a conference, initiate proposals or broker compromise in open session. In practice, the effect is to take out of plenary and informal conference processes European players with varying interests, diplomatic skills and traditional roles.

The effect is well illustrated by Sweden's non-role at the third session of the UN conference on Straddling and Highly Migratory Fish Stocks following entry into EU in 1995. Prior to that, Sweden as an active neutral power has played a prominent role at the conference. The effective removal of individual European players from parts of the conferences of negotiations has altered the dynamic of multilateral conference in a number of respects.

As a bloc actor, the EU cannot easily perform broker or moderate roles, especially in debates during fluid plenary or working group sessions, initiate flexible proposals. Multilateral conferences also loose the drafting input of individual European state. As a bloc, the EU tends to be susceptive to general attack if it opposes or appears intransigent on particular issue, and as a result therefore, often does not adopt a position, consequently appearing passive or quiescent, for the sake of its bloc image.

One of the other reasons for EU non-position as earlier noted, is the internal clearing debate the EU undertakes on a daily basis during multilateral conferences. The excessive diplomatic time devoted to these internal debates means that not only is the EU conducting a conference within a conference, but its positions are often out of phase with other conference initiatives. The EUs bloc composition also means that its negotiating style is one of tabling its own lowest common denominator amendments rather than acting strategically.

An indirect effect of these developments is to allow wider latitude for small or non-traditional players in multilateral conferences e.g. New Guinea, Morocco and Uruguay. The EU's bloc presence has not led to obvious counter-blocs so far but the bloc approach has been imitated to some extent, for example the South Pacific Forum.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE
Assess the implication of the expansion of European Union as a bloc in the international system.

4.0 CONCLUSION
The European Union is the most highly developed regional organisation in the world. No other bloc has a common parliament, few have a common external tariff and non is seriously contemplating a common currency or common defence policies. By contrast, the vast majority of the world's regional international organisations are much more inter-governmental in nature. This has a serious implication for diplomatic negotiation in the present century.

5.0 SUMMARY
The balance of European Union diplomatic efforts tends to be shifted to intra-bloc negotiation. The cleared position is invariably on a lowest common denominator basis. The effect of these developments is to allow wider latitude for small non-traditional players in multilateral conferences. The EU's block presence has not led to counter-blocks but it is being imitated.

6.0 TUTOR MARKED ASSIGNMENTS.
1. Give the reasons for the establishment of the EU.
2. What are the implications of the emergence of EU as a bloc in the international system?
3. Critically assess the expansion of the European Union.

7.0 REFERENCES / FURTHER READINGS
Spender, P. (1969). *Exercises in Diplomacy, the Angus Treaties and The Colombo Plan* London: Sydney University Press.

Barston, R.P. (1988). *Modern Diplomacy* London: Addison Wesley Longman Ltd.